



65

U. U. l.
m

Theological Seminary Princeton

Part of a donation of
Messrs R. L. and A. Stuart. N. Y.

LIBRARY

OF THE

Theological Seminary,

PRINCETON, N. J.

BX 5207 .H4 H8 1842
 Hunter, Joseph, 1783-1861.
 The rise of the old dissent

THE
RISE OF THE OLD DISSENT,
EXEMPLIFIED IN
THE LIFE
OF
OLIVER HEYWOOD,

ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN
CONGREGATIONS IN THE COUNTY OF YORK.

1630—1702.

BY
THE REV. JOSEPH HUNTER, F.S.A.

A Unitarian

LONDON:
LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS.

1842.

OLIVER BEEWOOD,

PRINTED BY RICHARD AND JOHN E. TAYLOR,
RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET.

P R E F A C E.

MR. HEYWOOD was one of those persons whose lives are the connecting links of early Puritanism and modern Dissent. He was born in the reign of King Charles the First; studied at Cambridge when the University had been newly reformed by the parliamentary commissioners; was ordained a minister by a Presbyterian classis in the time of the Commonwealth; became the pastor of a little rural flock; was separated from them by the operation of the Act of Uniformity; refused to desist from the exercise of his ministry when he was so removed, and suffered considerable inconvenience in consequence; became pastor of a congregation of Non-Conforming persons when the Act of Toleration allowed of the formation of such societies; and having lived in peace for thirteen years under the protection of that Act, died in 1702, having seen several congregations besides his own raised in a great measure by his efforts.

Such is the outline of his life, and it will be found in the following pages to be filled up with a minuteness which will require, I fear, some indulgence on the part of the reader to be excused; but having such authentic materials, I was unwilling to lose the opportunity of presenting in detail the facts which made up the experience of one of those men who, by the course which they took at a very critical period in the history of the

Reformed Church of England, were the instruments in the hands of Providence of introducing a new element into English society, and created influences that have had the most important effects on the characters and fortunes of a large portion of the population of England; and this the rather as I am not acquainted with any work in which the life of one of these persons is so fully described, few of those ministers having left such ample materials for the purpose as were left by Mr. Heywood. I was desirous also of preserving the names of many persons who acted with him in the severe course of self-appointed duty in which he trod, or were more especially wrought upon by his ministry; and also of presenting to the hand of any one who may hereafter undertake to write of the ecclesiastical history of the diocese of York, materials which he would in vain seek in any other quarter.

The extracts from these remains, illustrative of the general manners and opinions of the time, are not so numerous as to require apology.

Though this work is the life of Mr. Heywood, it will at once be perceived that it must be to a great extent a view of the public part of the lives of numerous ministers who took the same course which he did when the Act of Uniformity prescribed terms of ministerial communion with the Church which they thought unreasonable and unscriptural; so that while relating only what was done by Mr. Heywood in the parts of the county of York in which he resided, we are in fact relating what was doing in many other parts of the kingdom; I might rather say, in every diocese and every county of the realm.

I write in the character neither of the apologist and defender, nor of the impugner and opponent of men on whom it is impossible to look without a considerable degree of respect, but as the historian of the course they took, and aiming in an impartial spirit to give a just view of their determinations in the several critical periods of their lives.

It remains that I describe the materials which have been used in the preparation of this work.

The age of Mr. Heywood was peculiarly the age of diaries. There are many existing of his period; there are few earlier, and there are few later. They were part of the religious exercise of the devout of those days. One head of the advice given to him by his father when he entered the University was to keep a written record of his private meditations. Mr. Ambrose, a Puritan minister of Lancashire, Mr. Heywood's native county, had earnestly recommended the keeping of diaries as eminently serviceable to those who made it a principal object of their lives to establish themselves in all the thoughts and ways of piety; and in the book which he entitled *Media*, he gives a specimen of what, in his opinion, such diaries ought to be in extracts from his own. With such specimens before us we cannot but lament that the carelessness of later times should have suffered such a curious and valuable document to perish, for perished it is to be feared it is. There is a pathos and beauty in some of the passages which he has selected for publication, as when he speaks of his occasional retirements to his hut in "the sweet silent woods of Wid-dicre," which make one wish for more; and there is good historical information in what he relates of events

in the civil wars, or of occurrences in families, his contemporaries, of which one of the most remarkable is the account which he gives of the extinction of the ancient house of the Calveleys of Cheshire, which would supply a great defect in the published history of that remarkable family.

Mr. Heywood appears to have entered fully into the spirit of Mr. Ambrose's suggestion. For thirty-six years of his life he kept a daily account of what he did; he wrote also, on many occasions, the reflections which arose in his mind on the more important events of his life; and he shows that he was attentive to what passed around him, and that he sought to turn singular and striking events in the lives of others to his own spiritual benefit.

He wrote in very diminutive volumes, in lines exceedingly close, and in penmanship small, but not indistinct.

Many of these volumes are preserved. The Diary commences with the 24th of March, 1666; a memorable day, being that on which he was driven from his home by the operation of one of the severe laws by which it was vainly hoped that the spirits of the Non-Conformists might be subdued. He continued it with a fortitude which was greater than the care with which it has been preserved. The parts of the Diary which have been recovered, after diligent inquiry in the quarters in which the volumes might be supposed to have remained, are of the following periods:—

March 24, 1666, to November 7, 1673.

July 23, 1677, to May 7, 1680.

May 15, 1682, to July 31, 1686.

March 1, 1695, to April 29, 1702, five days before his decease.

For the period of his life before 1666 we have what is more valuable than a Diary ; an account of his early years, written in 1661, entitled by himself, ' A Relation of the more considerable Passages of my Life from my Infancy hitherto ; ' and this is followed by Notes of the more remarkable events, written at intervals, between 1661 and 1666.

It is on these that I have relied principally for the facts of his life ; but, beside these, there are other books of which some account must be given.

(1.) A book in which he has entered ' Solemn Covenants '—' Temptations '—' Experiences '—' Returns of Prayer '—' Remarkable Providences. '—(2.) Another book of ' Solemn Covenants, ' which also contains Reviews, year by year, of many of the later years of his life. (3.) Twenty ' Meditations upon the doleful Bartholomew Day Act, and the effects thereof in silencing so many thousand Ministers in these three Nations. ' Belonging to this class is another book, which I have not had the good fortune to see, and know only by the extracts which are made from it by the Rev. Richard Slate, in the Life of Mr. Heywood, which he prepared several years ago and prefixed to the uniform edition of his published writings. This is a volume of ' Soliloquies, ' and has reference to various occurrences of his life, and the state of his mind in reference to them, between May 1653 and June 1682.

Next to these in importance are to be placed several biographical accounts of different members of his own family, where we find, occasionally, notices of himself. The persons of whose lives he has left accounts, thrown into the form of regular treatises, are (1.) his father, Mr. Richard Heywood ; (2.) his mother, Mrs. Alice Hey-

wood ; (3.) his brother, Mr. Nathaniel Heywood ; (4.) his first wife, Mrs. Elizabeth Angier ; (5.) his father-in-law, Mr. John Angier ; (6.) his mother-in-law, Mrs. Ellen Angier. Of these, the lives of Mr. Angier and of Mr. Nathaniel Heywood, both eminent Puritan and Non-Conforming ministers, were printed during his life.

Of the less remarkable members of his family he has left a beautiful and affecting memorial ; a sketch of all whom he remembered. The events of the lives and the peculiarities of the characters are but slightly touched upon, but there is sufficient to show at least that the spirit by which the more prominent members of this good and religious family were actuated was communicated to most of the other members of it. This account was prepared at a dark period of his varied life ; and the Introduction is so pathetic and so beautiful, that I have omitted it in the place at which it should have occurred in the narrative of his life that it might appear more prominently in the Preface. It will be observed that they were the thoughts of a Sunday evening, after the labours of the day, for all the Sundays were with him laborious. The season, too, is remarkable, the close of the month of September, when the trees which overshadowed his humble dwelling at Northowram must have been shedding their yellow leaves about him :—

Οἷη περ φύλλων γενεῆ, τοιήδε καὶ ἀνδρῶν.

“ When I was sitting in mine own house, on Lord’s day night, Sept. 22, 1678, musing upon mine own death, and thinking on those thousands of blessed souls that have broken the ice and gone before me into that celestial city, many of my godly relations that died in the

Lord came afresh into my thoughts, and I at last resolved to make a catalogue of them that are within my cognizance or remembrance ; partly to maintain the memory of the just, partly to comfort mine own heart that any, yea so many, of my kindred in the flesh were gracious, are now glorified saints, whom I hope to meet in heaven ; partly to recommend them to the observation and imitation of my sons and their seed, that they may see what a religious stock they are branches of, that they or theirs may never degenerate, but walk in the same steps that their ancestors found peace in, and rest in the end of ; nor shall I go further than well-grounded charity according to the Scriptures will admit of, some of them having been more than ordinarily eminent in their generations, others very hopeful plants of renown, and I more value my parentage for godliness than greatness, religion than riches.”

With these may be classed the following volumes, which are all of an historical character :—(1.) A History of the Chapelry of Coley, in the parish of Halifax, the portion of the diocese of York which had the chief benefit of his labours for more than fifty years, namely, from the beginning to the close of his ministerial life ; (2.) A particular Account of his own Congregation at Northowram, the principal village in the Chapelry of Coley, when he had left the Church and appeared in the character of Dissenting minister ; (3.) An Account of the Ordinations of Ministers by himself and others when they had resolved on doing what in them lay to keep up a succession of ministers Non-Conforming, like themselves ; (4.) An Account of the Meetings, technically denominated Meetings of Ministers, in the West

Riding of Yorkshire, from their commencement in 1691 to the time of his death; (5.) A very copious Register of Births, Marriages and Deaths in the Families with whom he was acquainted, and in many other Families living in the parts of Lancashire and Yorkshire best known to him, with occasional biographical notices—a volume extremely useful to persons engaged in genealogical inquiries; and lastly, a volume containing two distinct parts, the first entitled ‘Experiments with Reflections,’ the second, ‘Objects and Observations.’ In this volume are various incidents relating to himself and others.

For the use of the greater part of these volumes I have been indebted to the late Miss Heywood of Mansfield, a descendant in the fourth degree, and to my early and much-valued friend the Rev. Richard Astley of Shrewsbury, into whose hands a portion of them came on his marriage with another Miss Heywood, a descendant in the fifth degree of him of whom they are so singular a memorial. One volume of the Diary is now in the curious collection of autographs formed by the Rev. Dr. Raffles of Liverpool, to whom I owe the opportunity of perusing it, as well as the account which Mr. Heywood left of his Northowram congregation.

Various other remains of Mr. Heywood have been entrusted to me by the family, which are not so much historical as to require to be noticed in this Preface.

But little of his correspondence remains; and of that little I printed the greater part several years ago, in the Correspondence of his friend Ralph Thoresby, the Leeds antiquary, to whom the letters were addressed. Small portions of his correspondence are still in possession of his descendants, and Mr. Slate has discovered some other

portions of it and printed them in his valuable volume. I have also found something relating to him in Thoresby's collection of 'Letters of Divines,' which is now among the Birch manuscripts in the British Museum. Amongst these manuscripts is also a transcript of many singular stories, similar to others which are entered in various of the volumes, made by Thoresby from a manuscript of Mr. Heywood which is no longer known to exist.

It remains to be added, that it was in the years 1819, 1820 and 1821 that my attention was particularly directed to the body of curious information which these little volumes contain, and that I made the transcript of the more remarkable portions with the design of using them in such a work as that which is now to appear before the public; that I have since recurred at different times to the design, but have been drawn away from it by other duties; and that possibly the design might never have been executed had not the course of events which make up the history of English Protestant Dissent led me to undertake researches into the state of opinion in that body at the time when Mr. Heywood and those who had been ejected with him were giving way to younger and bolder men, who soon changed the whole aspect of the Non-Conforming body, and to much reflection on the results of those inquiries. It has been the fortune of the Presbyterian Dissenters to have witnessed during the last few years the attempt made to wrest out of their hands the places of public worship which they had built for themselves, and the funds which they had established for the support of their ministers; not by the Church, nor by the State, the ad-

ministrators of the law designing in this, as in everything, only to do justice and maintain the right; it is done by persons whose duty and whose interest it was to cherish those whom they would destroy, and whose conduct in this particular has opened to some minds views of Dissent which make it far less amiable than in the early and confiding periods of their lives they were led to consider it. I do not hesitate to profess my own conviction, that in this proceeding, so far from seeing Dissent aiding the progress of theological science, sound knowledge, and political or religious freedom, I see it directly opposed to all these; thus cutting away the most solid ground on which it is rested. But though called upon to lend my assistance in the defence of the religious community in which I was born against their old enemies the Independents, or rather against the new body of people who call themselves by that name (for the old Independents, though they saw and lamented the departure of the Presbyterians from the Calvinian opinions of their founders, never thought of recalling them by a voice from the Court of Chancery), I should never have accomplished this work if I had not been excited to it by the encouragement of two distinguished members of this family, in whom is remarkably exemplified the saying of ancient wisdom, that *the seed of the righteous shall be blessed after them*; nor would it without their encouragement be given to the world, when books of which the chief or only merit is that they add to the stock of original information made easily accessible by being widely dispersed, are the last which those who best understand the public taste will venture to usher to the world.

CONTENTS.

FIRST PERIOD OF MR. HEYWOOD'S LIFE—FROM HIS BIRTH TO HIS SETTLEMENT IN THE MINISTRY AT COLEY.

1630—1650.

	Page
CHAP. I. Descent of Mr. Heywood.—Heywoods of Heywood.—Bolton an early seat of religion.—Labours of Bradford and Marsh.—Fathers of Protestantism and Puritanism in South Lancashire.—Efforts made in furtherance of Protestantism.—The Manchester Lecture or Exercise.—Effects.—John and the elder Oliver Heywood.—Conversion of the latter.—Rise of disaffection to the Protestant Church of England.—Puritanism.—Points of objection; ceremonies; form; doctrine.—The Heywoods Puritans.—Conference at Hampton Court.—Determination to put down Puritanism.—Persecution of the Puritan ministers.	1
CHAP. II. Questionable policy of the Court in respect of the Puritans.—Exasperatory measures.—Violation done to the Sabbatical principle; to the Calvinian predilections; to the claim of simplicity of worship.—Severities.—Mr. Heywood's father.—His mother.—Remarkable circumstance in her early religious history.—Prosperity of the family.—Character of the mother.—Iconoclasm.—Baptism of Mr. Heywood.—Character of himself when young.—His religious education under his mother.—Frequent religious exercises in his father's house.—Intensity of the devotions.—The Critchlaws.—Aurora borealis.—The Civil Wars.—Storming of Bolton.—Death of William Critchlaw.—The father visits Holland	17
CHAP. III. Early religious impressions.—Puritans' attention to the education of those intended for the ministry.—Mr. Heywood's destination to that office.—His school education.—Method pursued in the Lancashire schools.—Removed to Cambridge.—Persons with whom more particularly connected there, Hill, Akehurst, Birchall.—Studies there.—His preference of four eminent practical writers, Perkins, Bolton, Preston, and Sibbes.—Mr. Hammond, the celebrated Cambridge	

	Page
preacher.—Jollie, Bentley, Nathaniel Heywood, contemporary with him at Cambridge.—Major James Jollie.—Leaves the University and returns into Lancashire	38
CHAP. IV. The Puritans in the ascendant.—Destruction of the Episcopal Church.—Other measures of the Assembly of Divines.—Scheme of a Presbyterian Church of England.—Never executed.—Rise of Independency.—Its principle.—Rapid spread.—Sects arising out of it.—Lancashire made a province of a Presbyterian Church.—Independency there.—Contest between Richard Heywood and the Congregational Eldership at Bolton.—Reflections.—Mr. Heywood in the summer of 1650.—His settlement as a minister at Coley	52
<p>SECOND PERIOD—TO HIS EJECTION BY THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY.</p> <p>1650—1662.</p>	
CHAP. V. The parish of Halifax.—Coley Chapel.—Character of the parish by Dr. Favour, James Rither, and Dr. Whitaker.—The Lecture there.—Vicars.—Ministers during the Commonwealth.—Ministers in the several chapels at the time of Mr. Heywood's settlement at Coley.—Mr. Heywood's predecessors at Coley.—Families at Coley.—The Sunderlands.—Captain Hodgson.—Sir Thomas Browne, lately an inhabitant of the parish.—The Bests.—Nathaniel Heywood settles at Illingworth.—He and his brother live together.—Marriage with Elizabeth Angier.—Notice of her father.—Her death.—The death of Mr. Heywood's mother	71
CHAP. VI. Mr. Heywood's ordination.—Remarks on ordination of ministers.—His introduction of discipline in his congregation at Coley.—Opposition to it; consequences.—Proposals of removing to York and Preston.—The Houghtons.—Complete political triumph of the Independents and other sectaries.—Attempt at friendly union between the Presbyterians and Independents.—Mr. Newcome, of Manchester.—Political movements of the Presbyterians.—Sir George Booth's rising.—Increased estrangement between the Presbyterians and Independents.—Mr. Heywood taken by a party of Col. Lilburn's troop.—His bitter reflections on the political and ecclesiastical state of the times.—Spirit in which he looked to the king's restoration.—Other ministers the same	93
CHAP. VII. Disappointment of the Presbyterians.—Policy of the Court.—Return of the royalist clergy.—Many Puritan ministers allowed to retain their cures.—Proclamation against conventicles.—Affects Mr. Heywood.—Prohibited from baptizing.—Refuses to use the Common Prayer.—His enemies in	

his chapelry.—Citations to York.—Dr. Wittie.—Lady Watson.—His reflections on cathedral services.—Unsettled state of ecclesiastical affairs.—Settlement by the Act of Uniformity.—Chief provisions of the Act.—Difficulties of the Puritan ministry in complying with the terms of ministerial conformity.—The two thousand “Bartholomean worthies.”—Private and family circumstances at the time.—The eldest brother.—Mr. Heywood ceases to be the public minister at Coley 122

THIRD PERIOD—CONTINUING HIS MINISTRY IN OPPOSITION TO THE LAW, OR BY TEMPORARY INDULGENCES.

1662—1689.

CHAP. VIII. The Ejected Ministers resolve to continue in the exercise of their ministry.—Supported by many of the laity.—Mr. Heywood’s successors at Coley.—He is excommunicated.—Effects.—Excommunicated in the diocese of Chester also.—Preaches in his own and other private houses.—Conventicle at Captain Hodgson’s broken up.—His house searched.—Other alarms.—The Farnley-wood Plot.—Goes from home to preach in distant places.—Mr. Swift’s case at Peniston.—Another excommunication.—The Parliament and the King concur in treating the Non-Conformists with severity.—Remarkable account of the singing of birds in the night while they are at worship.—Preaches at Peniston, Mottram, Denton.—Mr. Holland’s purposed marriage sermon.—The Conventicle Act.—The twenty-fourth of August observed as a fast-day.—Question of Non-Conformists attending the churches.—Bramhope; Mr. Dyneley.—Chapels founded in the Commonwealth times.—Visits London, Lancashire, Leeds.—Many arrests of Non-Conformists.—Case of possession.—Various fasts 143

CHAP. IX. The Oxford or Five Mile Act.—The Non-Conformist ministers supporters of the liberties of England.—Mr. Heywood leaves his home in consequence of it.—Travels in Cheshire and Lancashire.—Returns home, which is now Coley-hall.—The Act very negligently executed.—He preaches as usual, only more frequently from home.—His preaching tours in Yorkshire, Cheshire and Lancashire.—His introduction to the Puritan gentry in South Yorkshire.—Dr. Hitch.—Conventicle at Birch-hall.—The *bringing in May*.—His second marriage with Mrs. Abigail Crompton 170

CHAP. X. Reasons for the penal laws being not enforced with more severity.—Disposition towards Non-Conformists of three northern lieutenants, the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of

	Page
Derby, and the Earl of Devonshire.—Anecdotes.—Change of the ministry.—Attempt at a comprehension of the Presbyterians and a toleration of the Independents.—Fails.—Things remain as they were, and Mr. Heywood pursues the same course.—State of society at Bingley.—Various journeys of Mr. Heywood.—Deaths of several Non-Conforming ministers.—Publishes his <i>Heart-Treasure</i> .—Appears again in his old chapel at Coley.—Lady Hoyle.—Other journeys.—Publishes his <i>Closet-Prayer</i> .—The two Roots.—Publishes his <i>Sure Mercies of David</i> .—Mr. Heywood imprisoned at Leeds.—Distraint upon his goods.—Purchases land.—The Huttons.—Oates'.—Death of Mrs. Horton.—Witchcraft.—Summary of Mr. Heywood's labours.	195
CHAP. XI. Sudden change in the policy of the country respecting the Non-Conformists.—The King's Declaration for Indulgence.—Difficulties in accepting the liberty.—Mode of procedure.—Address from the Lancashire ministers.—Declaration of a portion of the Yorkshire ministers.—Form of application for licenses.—Mr. Heywood's license.—His removal to his own house at Northowram.—Fits up the largest room as a place for worship.—Forms his congregation in church order.—Mutual pledge and declaration.—Union with him of many Independents.—Foundation of the congregation at Warley.—His travels during this summer, and the rise of licensed meeting-houses in various places.—Foundation of an academy for the education of Non-Conforming ministers.—Revival of Presbyterian ordination	222
CHAP. XII. Mr. Heywood interrupted at Lassel-hall.—Christmas festivities at Woodsome.—Proceedings in Parliament respecting the King's Declaration.—The Test Act.—Feeling of Non-Conformists towards the Roman Catholics.—Success of Mr. Heywood's labours.—The Bayleys.—Devotes his sons to the Non-Conforming ministry, and sends them to Mr. Hickman's.—Interesting domestic service before their departure.—Mr. Horton builds a chapel at Sowerby.—Opposition of Dr. Hooke.—Violent dissensions in the parish.—The Duke of Buckingham at Halifax.—Duel of Mr. Jennings and Mr. Aislabie.—Non-Conformity at York; Leeds; Wakefield.—Interruption.—Deaths of several ministers.—His sons go to Mr. Frankland's.—Marriage of his servant, Martha Bairstow.	246
CHAP. XIII. The licenses withdrawn.—Mr. Heywood continues to preach as usual.—Succeeds to some family property.—Deaths of Mr. Cotton; Mr. Bentley; Mr. Bayley.—Burial ground at Morley.—Wish of the people for his return to the public chapel at Coley.—Mr. Kirby.—His sons go to finish their studies at Edinburgh.—Deaths of his father, sister,	

father-in-law and brother, in one year.—Notice of Mr. Nathaniel Heywood.—Further itinerant labours.—Rise of the Baptist congregations around Mr. Heywood.—Death of Sir John Armitage.—Commencement of a regular system of ordination in the West Riding of Yorkshire.—Minute account of the first of these services.—Further preaching tours.—Receives a visit from Lord Rutherford.—Connexion between the Scotch and English Presbyterians.—The Lamberts.—Death of Mr. Horton.—Mr. Heywood taken before Mr. Entwisle for preaching at Shaw-chapel.—Mr. Eliezer Heywood becomes chaplain to Mr. Taylor of Walling-wells.—Difference between Mr. Hancock and Mr. Bloom.—Differences in Mr. Whitehurst's congregation.—Publishes his <i>Life in God's Favour</i> .—Excommunicated again.—Various ordinations.—Mr. Timothy Jollie.—Mr. Noble.—Mr. John Heywood.—The drought of 1681.—Death of Mr. Marsden	266
CHAP. XIV. Supposed effects of the King's Indulgence.—Efforts to prevent the establishment of the Dissenting interest.—Renewal of severities.—Directed against the younger ministers.—Dr. Hooke.—Visit to the academy.—Frequent alarms.—State of Non-Conformity in Yorkshire.—Visits London.—Publishes his <i>Israel's Lamentation</i> .—Extracts.—Settlement of Mr. Ellison as curate of Coley.—Visits York; the Hewleys.—Reflections at the close of 1683.—Further alarms.—Visits Mansfield and Norton.—Funeral sermon for Mr. Cotes.—Apprehended.—Reflections at the close of 1684.—Convicted at the sessions at Wakefield.—In the castle at York from January to December 1685.—Death of the King.—Release.—Returns home.—Compounds for his fine.—Visits various friends	308
CHAP. XV. The conduct of the Presbyterian ministers in the preceding struggle not so much one of principle as of feeling.—General view of the objects of the struggle.—Close of it.—King James' Declaration of Liberty of Conscience.—Another acknowledgment of the dispensing power.—Opposition of the Church.—Mr. Heywood's reflections at the close of the year 1687.—Measures pursued under the liberty granted by King James' Declaration; three ordinations; foundation of the chapel at Northowram; of the school there.—Publishes his <i>Baptismal Bonds</i> .—The Revolution.—The Toleration Act.—The Principle of Toleration.—Proceedings under it of the Non-Conformists.—Another ordination.—Mr. Carrington	338

FOURTH AND LAST PERIOD—WHILE MINISTER AT NORTH-
OWRAM UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE ACT OF TOLE-
RATION, TO HIS DEATH.

1689—1702.

	Page
CHAP. XVI. Mr. Heywood's personal state at the time when the Act of Toleration gave relief.—The affair of the Surey Demoniac.—Ordination of Mr. Kirshaw and Independent objections.—Attempt at a general union of the Presbyterians and Independents.—Heads of Agreement determined on by the ministers in London.—Meeting at Wakefield of the West Riding ministers, at which they are assented to.—Meetings of ministers. Mr. Smith's proposition.—Ordination of Dr. Colton of York; and of others.—Several publications of Mr. Heywood's.—Lord Wharton.	366
CHAP. XVII. Diary resumed.—Publishes <i>The New Creature</i> .—Symptoms of declining orthodoxy in the Non-Conformist body.—Thomas Bradbury.—Opening of the chapel at Lidget.—Private conference of ministers.—Chapels founded at Pontefract; York; Warley; Bingley; Rotherham; Pudsey.—Writes notices of Non-Conforming ministers.—His last visit to Lancashire, and proceedings of the Non-Conformists there.—Invited to Manchester; Halifax.—Nathaniel Priestley.—Ordination of Mr. Cotton.—Invited to London.—His affairs in respect of income, etc.—Writes a preface to Mr. Frankland's treatise against a Socinian.—Ralph Thoresby conforms to the Church.—Ordination of Mr. Blamire.—Opening of the chapel at Wakefield.—Death of Mr. Frankland.—Correspondence on the history and affairs of Non-Conformity.—Singular incident at Manchester.—Various publications.—Mr. Sharp.—Mr. Sylvester.—Another ordination.—Mr. Matthew Smith's heterodoxy.—Marriage of Eliezer Heywood.—Disputes in the Craven congregation.—Decline of Mr. Heywood's health.—Death.—Funeral.—Will.—Portrait.—House.—Chapel.—Ministers at Northowram after him.—Ejected ministers surviving him.—His sons and their descendants.—Descendants of his brother Nathaniel.—Testimonies to his character.	383

SUBSEQUENT FORTUNES OF THE PRESBYTERIAN
DISSENTERS.

CHAP. XVIII. Numbers of the Non-Conformists.—Yorkshire congregations.—Presbyterian Dissenters not a sect nor a church.—Erection of their chapels.—Trustees.—Mode of

CONTENTS.

xix

Page

conducting service.—Want of recognized rules.—Election of ministers.—Means of support.—Eminent benefactors : Lady Hewley ; the Hollises ; Dr. Daniel Williams.—Academies.—Learning of the early ministers.—Ordinations.—Meetings of ministers.—The London ministers.—Absence of a creed.—Principle of free inquiry.—State of the religious world at the beginning of Dissent.—Disregard of the requirement of subscription by the Act of Toleration.—Their want of union a main cause of their subsequent decline.—Other causes.—Changes consequent on the assertion of the right of private judgment.—Introduction of Arianism.—Socinianism.—Mr. Lindsey.—Dr. Priestley.—Returns to the Church.—Great effect of Methodism.—Extinction of many of the Yorkshire congregations.—The Presbyterians still an important element in English society 411

CORRIGENDA.

- Page 26, last line, *in the quotation from Heylyn insert the word
most before exquisite.*
- 38, line 11, *for then read thus.*
- 40, line 26, *for school read schools.*
- 60, line 28, *for enlighted read enlightened.*
- 86, line 3, *for Langley read Langdale.*
- 91, line 1, *for Mr. read Mrs.*
- 130, line 6, *for Sales read Sale.*
- 190, note, line 12, *for 1837 read 1838.*
- 223, line 17, *insert the before persons.*
- 225, line 11, *for could read would.*
- 297, line 8, *for Dissenters read dissenters.*
- 411, line 11, *for Uniformity read Toleration.*

THE LIFE
OF
OLIVER HEYWOOD.

CHAPTER I.

DESCENT OF MR. HEYWOOD.—HEYWOODS OF HEYWOOD.—BOLTON AN EARLY SEAT OF RELIGION.—LABOURS OF BRADFORD AND MARSH.—FATHERS OF PROTESTANTISM AND PURITANISM IN SOUTH LANCASHIRE.—EFFORTS MADE IN FURTHERANCE OF PROTESTANTISM.—THE MANCHESTER LECTURE OR EXERCISE.—EFFECTS.—JOHN AND THE ELDER OLIVER HEYWOOD.—CONVERSION OF THE LATTER.—RISE OF DISAFFECTION TO THE PROTESTANT CHURCH OF ENGLAND.—PURITANISM.—POINTS OF OBJECTION; CEREMONIES; FORM; DOCTRINE.—THE HEYWOODS PURITANS.—CONFERENCE AT HAMP-TON COURT.—DETERMINATION TO PUT DOWN PURITANISM.—PERSECUTION OF THE PURITAN MINISTERS.

THE ancestors of Mr. Heywood, in whatever line they can be traced, were inhabitants of the parish of Bolton-en-le-Moors in Lancashire. They were small freeholders, cultivating their own lands, and generally engaged in the manufactures for which those parts of the country were then in repute. His father, grandfather, and great grandfather, of all of whom he has left some account, were settled in that part of the parish of Bolton where it approaches the confines of the neighbouring

lands of Heywood, till, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, they were induced by the Earls of Derby to remove to the Isle of Man. In that island they filled the highest offices of trust and importance belonging to that singular political community, being Deemsters, Speakers of the House of Keys, and one of them Attorney-General, when they sold their ancient inheritance in Lancashire.

The Heywoods of Maristowe in Devonshire were a younger branch of this family ; and there is some reason to believe that the Heywoods of Little Lever descended from a younger son, though the particular point at which they were connected cannot now be determined. It happens, in this case, as in many others, that a very little inquiry at the proper time, and a very little pains in committing to writing the results of such an inquiry, would save a world of fruitless pains and expense, when once a curiosity arises respecting such trifles as these.

The Heywoods of Heywood had never, in the best of times, either the talent, the influence, or the wealth which it has been the fortune of the descendants of John Heywood of the Waterside to possess ; but they had more of the grace of ancestry. Their pedigree is remarkably authentic, having been deduced in the first instance from the family evidences by Dodsworth, the Charter Antiquary of the seventeenth century*, and subsequently registered by the heralds on their visitation.

Mr. Heywood speaks on this point with equal modesty and piety :—“ ’Tis possible we might spring from

* His notes still remain among his manuscripts at the Bodleian, vol. lxxix. f. 59, and vol. cxvii. f. 35. The arms borne by the Heywoods of Heywood were three torteaux between two red bendlets on a silver field, and were evidently formed, like those of Byron, on the figure borne by the early lords of Manchester. The old writer of epigrams, John Heywood, in the reign of Elizabeth, thus Latinizes the name—*Fæni Sylva* ; but this is inadmissible. *Heywood* is the wood abounding in streams of water, or bounded by them, as Heywood is on one side by the river Roch ; or the wood inclosed by a paling ; but probably the former, the earliest orthography of the word being Eywood.

some younger brother of the house of Heywood of Heywood, an ancient esquire's seat betwixt Rochdale and Bury; for old Mr. Robert Heywood whom I knew, a pious reverend old gentleman and an excellent poet, was wont to call my father Cousin. But kinship grows out in process of time; and 'tis not much material what family we are of, so that we be of the household of faith, and have God for our Father, Christ for our elder Brother, and the Spirit of Grace running in our best veins, and acting us for God."

It is said of the parish of Bolton by the writer of the 'Lives of the Ejected and Silenced Ministers in 1662,' that it was "an ancient and famous seat of religion:" and Mr. Heywood speaks of it as having been "long famous for glorious professors of the Gospel, and powerful preachers." In the very dawn of the Reformation, in the reign of King Edward the Sixth, these parts of the county were the principal field of the labours of the two eminent preachers, Bradford and Marsh, who, having distinguished themselves by their zeal in promoting the principles of the Reformation, were put to the cruel death of burning in the succeeding reign. Letters are extant which were written by them to members of their families or to their converts in these parts, full of affectionate entreaty to constancy in the profession which they had made, and breathing, on their own part, the spirit of the most heroic self-devotion*. These letters show us what their preaching

* See *Certain most godly, fruitful, and comfortable Letters of such true Saints and holy Martyrs of God as in the late bloody persecution here within this realm gave their lives for the Defence of Christ's Holy Gospel*, 4to, 1564, probably collected and published by Coverdale. It contains several letters of the two Lancashire martyrs, addressed to their relations and friends at Manchester and in the neighbourhood. Bradford's letters are now the more interesting on account of their greater particularity. He mentions Bolton and other towns around Manchester as places at which he had preached; and he even names particular persons in those parts who had been converted by his preaching, beside his mother, sisters, and brother-in-law, who resided at Manchester, which was his birth-place. The

must have been ; and there can be no doubt that the effects of their labours would live long after them, that the places in which they had preached would long retain a tincture of the piety first infused by them, and that to them may be traced, as its origin, that devotional spirit which has always prevailed in the parts of the country of which we are speaking.

The friends of the Reformation made use of every means to keep up in these places a spirit of earnest piety. The Reformation in South Lancashire was not, as in many other parts of the kingdom, a quiet acquiescence in whatever form of religion the political authorities of the time enforced upon the people. There was an active opposition on the part of the superior gentry, many of whom remained, as their descendants

names are these :—John Travis, Thomas Sorocold, Laurence and James Bradshaw, R. Shalcross and his wife, R. Bolton, and S. Wilde.

I have taken some pains to identify these fathers of Protestantism and Puritanism, but with little success. R. Bolton is no doubt Robert Bolton of Little Bolton, an esquire and man of substance, who in his will, made in 1560, gives a copy of the Paraphrases of Erasmus upon the Gospels to his cousin, Roger Lever. We do not find in him, however, the austerities which frequently accompanied a strict religious profession in those times, as he speaks of much gay apparel belonging to him, and bequeaths to one of his neighbours his pack of hounds. About the same time, William Bruck, of Little Bolton, who calls this Robert Bolton his master, leaves in his will twenty shillings to be expended in books for the church of Bolton. Thomas Sorocold lived in Salford, and in 1556 was executor to the will of his kinsman, Gilbert Sorocold, of the same place, who names for overseers Sir William Radcliffe, Knight, and Alexander Radcliffe, Esquire. The Sorocolds were of ancient descent and good alliance in these parts, having married with the families of Strangers, Molineux, and Prestwich. Richard Shalcross was living at Manchester in the fourth year of Edward the Sixth, when he was assessed to the subsidy granted in that year on goods of the annual value of 12*l.* ; the highest assessment in that town being on goods of 25*l.* annual value. At this sum Edward Janney was assessed, who held jointly with Richard Shalcross a tavern at the Smithy Door in Manchester. Janney was a considerable merchant in Manchester, and it appears by his will that he founded a school at Bowden, where he had the advowson of the church.

now do, stedfast to the form in which Christianity had been for so many centuries professed among us. The reformed party, on the other hand, were a zealous and earnest body of men, and resorted in crowds to the Religious Exercise as it was called, or Lecture, which, in the reign of Elizabeth, was set up in the great church at Manchester. This Lecture was held on the second Thursday in each succeeding month, and all the clergy, and all the readers and schoolmasters in the neighbouring churches and chapels, were required to attend, while eloquent preachers pointed out the errors of Popery, and exhorted the people to an earnest examination of Scripture, and a strict and holy life*. These lectures, which were set up in other places also, were among the most efficient means which were employed to extend and strengthen the principles of the Reformation.

The Lecture at Manchester was established by the Bishop of Chester, in whose diocese these parts of the kingdom are, at the particular suggestion of the Earl of Huntingdon, the zealous Lord President of the North. The bishop, a very earnest reformer, was at the same time Warden of Manchester, and an occasional resident in the town. But there was connected with them a novel system of clerical discipline, the effect of which would be to rouse to greater exertion the parochial

* The preaching of Bourn, one of the Fellows of the Church of Manchester, as described by Hollingworth, the old annalist of Manchester, may probably be taken as a specimen of the topics of the discourses delivered on these occasions:—"He seldom varied the method of his preaching, which, after explication of his text, was doctrine-proof of it by Scripture; by reason answering one or more objections: and then the uses; first, of information; secondly, of confutation of Popery in this or in that; thirdly, of reprehension; fourthly, of examination; fifthly, of exhortation; and lastly, of consolation." See *History of the Collegiate Church of Manchester*, by Samuel Hibbert, M.D., 4to, 1828, p. 120.—Bruen of Bruen-Stapleford, whose Life by Hinde is a curious picture of the manner of life of a religious person of the times immediately ensuing on the Reformation, was accustomed to resort to the Lecture at Manchester.

ministers who were settled in the churches and chapels around. A body of persons called Moderators was established, who, on the afternoon of the day on which the Lecture was preached, conferred with the country ministers, examined, instructed, directed, and, if need were, censured them*. Thus the system had a two-fold operation, first by the preaching itself, on the minds of the laity who flocked to the church from all parts; and by the discipline, on the minds of the labouring clergy, each of whom was the centre of religious influences in the places in which they were stationed.

There was also, in the reign of Elizabeth, a body of itinerant lecturers established in Lancashire, consisting of four ministers, whose duty it was to travel about, and preach wherever opportunity was afforded them.

By these means the tone of religious feeling and action was kept at a higher pitch in the country around Manchester than in most other parts of the kingdom.

The first known ancestor of Mr. Heywood lived in the days of Bradford and Marsh, but his descendant has left us no account of what was his religious course. There is reason to think that his ancestors, the Critchlaws and Hultons, took impression from the labours of the preachers of the Reformation sooner than the Heywoods. Of his grandfather, he had heard that for sixty years of his life he was of good reputation, but not religious. In the phrase of the time he was 'carnal,' a term which his own grandson applies to him, and he notices the following proof of it:—he did not scruple to spend the afternoon of the Sabbath-day in shooting at the butts on Lomas Moss, then a piece of uninclosed ground not far from Little Lever. His wife was of a more serious turn†; she attended the zealous ministry

* *History of the Collegiate Church of Manchester*, p. 100.

† The Hultons were a family of great worth and piety. One of them, a nephew of Mrs. Heywood, acquired great wealth as a merchant in London, with part of which he endowed a Lecture at Bolton. He was the intimate friend of Ashhurst, another merchant

of Mr. Hubbert at the chapel in Ainsworth, about a mile from her residence. Mr. Hubbert, at her request, took some pains to persuade her husband to leave off his Sunday practice, and to spend the afternoons with his family, in reading the Scriptures and praying with them. His efforts were, however, fruitless; and it was at last by one of those fortuitous occurrences—which, to the religious mind, easily put on the appearance of being special interferences of the Power by which the circumstances of our probation are appointed—that a change was produced in him. He was attending the fair at Bury. Mr. Paget, then the minister of the chapel at Blackley, was preaching in the church. In an idle mood he entered the church. The word preached came home upon his heart. He was from that time, says his grandson, “an eminent Christian, full of prayer and holy meditation,” and continued till his death an attendant on the ministry of Mr. Paget, who told Mr. Heywood many years afterwards, “how gracious, and zealous, and industrious his grandfather had been, after God set his face heavenward.” Such was the first introduction into this family of that deep feeling of religion which soon became its marked and very striking characteristic.

Of the next generation, the parents of Mr. Heywood, we have much fuller information from his pen; but as they belonged to the Puritan party in the English Church, and educated their son in all the prejudices and principles of that party, it is proper that, before we proceed, some account should be given of the rise of Puritanism, and of the principal characteristics by which it was distinguished.

It was required for the purposes of the Reformers that they should endeavour to loosen men’s minds from that respect for ecclesiastical authority which must have prevailed in London, of a Lancashire family, distinguished by his success in commerce, and the pious and benevolent use which he made of his great wealth.

vailed to a great extent, when there had been so many centuries of unquestioning submission; and perhaps they did not perceive, that while they sought to diminish the respect for the authority of the Church, they were at the same time enfeebling respect for spiritual authority in general. It was difficult for them to teach that their disciples should repudiate the authority of the General Church, in which at least most of the Christian nations were still comprehended, and at the same time teach that obedience was due to the authorities in the English Reformed Church. Again, they taught the people to look to the Scriptures, and to receive nothing but what was taught therein, as in their opinion one of the best means of removing those corruptions of the pure Christian doctrine which it had suffered in the times when the supremacy of the Church of Rome was advancing to its completion: but they did not perceive, that by thus appealing to the Scriptures, they were opening the door to endless diversity of opinion; it being now established by the experience of centuries, that men will be led to very different conclusions, who, relying on their own powers, in faithfulness and sincerity endeavour to collect for themselves from that book what is the pure and simple and permanent truth which our Saviour and his Apostles intended to communicate, and in what way a visible profession of it shall be made. I do not speak of the uncultivated or the less cultivated mind; but those persons who appear in every respect to be the best fitted for the work must necessarily find difficulties which they cannot overcome, and will be led to desire aid *ab extra* in these investigations, if it can be obtained.

While, therefore, the fathers of the Reformation were using every means to detach the people from reverence for the Church to which their ancestors had belonged, and inviting them to "search the Scriptures," and to bring every doctrine and religious practice to the test of

its conformity with Scripture, they were preparing the way for differences and dissensions in their own body, for strife and the perpetual struggle of party.

In point of fact, these differences did speedily manifest themselves ; and before the close of the reign of Elizabeth there had grown up in the Reformed Church a very numerous and powerful party, who were greatly dissatisfied with the constitution of the Church as it was settled in the reign of King Edward the Sixth, and restored by Queen Elizabeth. They were powerful from their numbers, but still more from their zeal, their sincerity of purpose, their holy and virtuous lives ; they were in fact, for the most part, the persons who had been wrought upon by such preachers as Bradford, and the children of those persons ; sincere, zealous believers in the importance and value of that spiritual freedom which they believed themselves to have attained, and that purer system of faith and worship which had taken place of the superstition that had passed away, in contradistinction to those who at heart were indifferent to the subject, or willing to follow wherever the temporal authorities of the time directed.

I would not say that all the virtue, or that all the religion of that period was with the Puritans ; but it can hardly be doubted that both religion and virtue were of a higher tone with them than with the acquiescent party. I speak now of the Original Puritans, and not of those of a later period, when they became corrupted by entering into the contentions of political life, and becoming candidates for political power. Neither do I mean to say that there may not be genuine piety and high-minded conduct without that severity of life which they deemed it their duty to practise, without those endless religious exercises in which they were engaged, without that contempt of the elegant ornaments and the healthful refreshments of life, and without those judaical notions which led them to deem gathering a flower on the Sab-

bath a serious moral offence* ; or that men may not live more usefully and more acceptably in a milder system of practice.

Nor can it perhaps be denied that they “walked not charitably,” in laying so great a stress on points in which they differed from their neighbours. Where men must act in concert, it is manifest that something of individual opinion must be given up, out of regard to the feelings and wishes of others ; and there may be quite as much intolerance in a singularity of practice as in the attempts to enforce uniformity, and quite as much superstition in rejecting as in adopting a ceremony. It is, however, one of the most difficult problems in morals to draw the line which shall separate things which may be lawfully given up out of deference to others or of regard to the maintenance of religious union and order, and those which a conscientious man must retain at all events, and embody in his practice ; nor is it less difficult to ascertain the amount of knowledge and strength of conviction required to make a peculiarity in religious practice a duty. But surely the peace and unity of the newly-formed Church needed not to have been disturbed about the shape or colour of a robe ; the ring in marriage, a custom which had descended from a very remote antiquity ; the sponsors in baptism, which are at least another link of piety, of which we have far too few, in the frame of the social state ; the cross in baptism, the turning to the east, the bowing at the name of Jesus, the kneeling at the Eucharist, which are innocent, respectful, and picturesque customs, and are moreover descended to us from primitive antiquity. The observance of ecclesiastical times and commemorations keeps alive attention to spiritual affairs, and the memory of the just who are gone. The bestowing peculiar sanctity

* It is related of Wilson, the Puritan Reformer of Maidstone, a member of the Assembly of Divines, that he brought the parish to that state, that “not a rose or a flower was suffered to be gathered on the Lord’s Day.”—See his *Life*, 12mo, 1672, p. 41.

on places set apart for Christian worship seems favourable to Christian influences ; and little is gained by disconnecting the exercises of religion from all that is most pleasing to the eye or most agreeable to the ear. It was at least a pity that the harmony of the Church should have ever been disturbed by scruples about things such as these.

The defence of the Puritans in their conduct with respect of these, the chief ceremonies to which they objected, is founded in the duty of resisting that which is imposed because it is imposed, and the want of Scripture authority for such practices. But there must surely be a power of regulation somewhere ; if that is not the case, all must soon be confusion and disorder. Place the authority wherever it may—in the common consent and practice of the Church from the beginning, in the councils, in the bishops and clergy of the English Church, or in them, jointly with King, Lords, and Commons, by which the will of the English nation is gathered, the same objection would apply, so that there could be no union, no order whatever, in a case in which union and order are pre-eminently desirable, and no authority to which to appeal when contests arose. That they were deficient of Scripture authority, and as the Puritan phrase was, and continued long after the word Puritan ceased to designate any particular body of persons, but ‘relics of Popery,’ may be true, but it does not follow that everything in Popery is evil ; and there are many things in every mode of Christian profession, even that which is most simple, for which express Scripture warrant cannot be produced.

The objection to particular officers who are found in the constitution of the Church, as it was settled at the Reformation, such as deans and archdeacons, chancellors and treasurers, that neither the words nor the offices are found in the New Testament, seems founded in the same mistake of expecting to find everything in Scripture. Common sense must show to every one,

that if there are buildings appropriated to the purposes of religion, there must be persons who have the charge of them ; if a watchful eye is to be kept on the conduct of the inferior clergy, if any ecclesiastical discipline is to be maintained, this must be done by some person ; and if there are revenues, there must be those to collect and distribute them.

There were, however, two objections taken by the Puritans to the frame and order of the Church of a far weightier character.

The one was the establishment of a Liturgy. A settled form of prayer, however excellent it may be, can never fully satisfy minds under the influence of very strong religious feeling ; and by the Puritans it was regarded as a " quenching of the Spirit " in ministers when engaged in their public duty, with whose outpourings in private they were so often edified and delighted.

The other was the constitution of the English Church, as being in the episcopal order. Other Reformed Churches were without the order of bishop, and placed the supreme authority in the Church, and the right of ordination to the office of minister in assemblies of presbyters. This was the case at Geneva and in Scotland. The Puritans in general would have had it so here ; and they were the more eager in the assertion of this principle, when they found the bishops the active agents in the persecution to which they were exposed, their ministers silenced, suspended, and degraded by episcopal authority, and many of them driven into exile. This hardened the hearts of the Puritans against the order and office of bishop. One of the terms by which they were designated arose out of this leading principle and object, the term Presbyterian.

Another term by which the party of whom I am speaking were often called was Precisians : this was nearly allied to the term Puritan. It arose out of a certain preciseness of conduct, the result of their high conscientiousness and their solemn fears.

It does not appear that the Puritans differed widely from the other members of the Church in respect of points of doctrine. As a brief description of the difference that might exist, it may be said that the leaning of the Puritans was to the Calvinian system, the leaning of the other party to what are called Arminian and Arian opinions. The Articles seem to have been framed to comprehend men whose opinions greatly differed in respect of Christian truth. Anything like the free-thinking and scepticism of Christianity, which in later times have more or less prevailed in England, can hardly be traced to a period before the time of Falkland and Chillingworth. The free-thinking before that time was for the most part mere profanity.

Less than this could not be said on the two great parties into which the Church of England became divided before the close of the reign of Elizabeth. During that reign, and in the reigns of James the First and Charles the First, the whole weight of temporal power was given to those, who, satisfied with the Church as it was established in the reign of Edward the Sixth, sought no further reforms, but in quietness and peace to grow in holiness and meetness for heaven under its sacred influences; the more enlightened members of it regarding it a part of the Primitive or Catholic Church, which had recovered its pristine simplicity by the removal of the accretions of later centuries: the tendency there was to indifference and formality. The Puritan or movement party was strong in zeal, sincerity, earnestness, virtue, and piety; like the martyrs of the Reformation, they would have given their bodies to be burned: the tendency there was to fanaticism and uncharitableness.

The family of Mr. Heywood, including all his connexions both on his father's and his mother's side, belonged to the Puritan section of the English Church, and few persons drank more deeply of the spirit of Puritanism than did Richard and Alice Heywood, his father and mother. It prevailed, indeed, all over these

parts of Lancashire, so that there was scarcely a middle party between the Puritans or extreme Protestants and the Papists, of whom there were great numbers. At Manchester, in particular, there were some of the most violent and prejudiced Puritans; and while Papists were being imprisoned in that town for their adherence to the old profession, a Puritan printing-press was at work, from which issued some of those bitter, slanderous, and outrageous writings which form the body of tracts known by the name of the Marprelate Tracts*.

On the accession of James the First the Puritans expected that some concessions would be made to them, and that a rigid conformity to all the ceremonies would no longer be required from the ministers. The king showed a disposition to attend to their desires; he sat in person while the heads of the two parties debated before him: this was done at Hampton Court. According to the report which is given of this controversy, the advantage was not on the side of the Puritans. They disputed, however, at a disadvantage, for the king appears not to have been a perfectly impartial umpire, but to have interfered occasionally in a manner to awe and confound the Puritans' advocates. In the issue the king declared his opinion, that the Puritan objections were merely frivolous, and that he was determined to maintain the Church as he found it, and to enforce conformity.

The case of one of the Lancashire ministers, a very zealous Puritan, was in this conference brought especially before the king. It was that of Mr. Midgely, the vicar of Rochdale, a man of unquestionable piety and great usefulness in that large parish. He objected to some of the ceremonies, particularly to the mode of administering the Lord's Supper, and was accustomed to carry the bread about the church in a basket. The king was besought to allow this to be passed over, and to grant the

* Fuller's *Church History*, book ix. p. 195; but a larger account is given by Strype.

same indulgence to some other Lancashire ministers. But he was inexorable; and the Bishop of Chester was directed to proceed against Mr. Midgely and other ministers who were not conformable. Mr. Midgely, who was one of the moderators, was deprived, and, according to Mr. Heywood, degraded from the ministry*.

The persecution, so it may be called, of the Puritans was henceforth not less severe than it had been in the reign of Elizabeth, and in particular the Bishops of Chester were thenceforth engaged in a perpetual struggle with the refractory ministers. Paget was silenced at Blackley, Broxholme at Denton, and Rathband at the chapel in Ainsworth. Other zealous ministers were silenced in other places around. Some were fined, others imprisoned. Paget fled to Holland. Several Lancashire ministers sought peace and freedom in New England. It was while this contest was at its height that Mr. Heywood was born.

* There were two Midgelys at Rochdale, father and son, and it is not easy to say what belongs to each of them.

CHAPTER II.

QUESTIONABLE POLICY OF THE COURT IN RESPECT OF THE PURITANS.
 —EXASPERATORY MEASURES.—VIOLATION DONE TO THE SABBATHICAL PRINCIPLE ; TO THE CALVINIAN PREDILECTIONS ; TO THE CLAIM OF SIMPLICITY OF WORSHIP.—SEVERITIES.—MR. HEYWOOD'S FATHER.—HIS MOTHER.—REMARKABLE CIRCUMSTANCE IN HER EARLY RELIGIOUS HISTORY.—PROSPERITY OF THE FAMILY.—CHARACTER OF THE MOTHER.—ICONOCLASM.—BAPTISM OF MR. HEYWOOD.—CHARACTER OF HIMSELF WHEN YOUNG.—HIS RELIGIOUS EDUCATION UNDER HIS MOTHER.—FREQUENT RELIGIOUS EXERCISES IN HIS FATHER'S HOUSE.—INTENSITY OF THE DEVOTIONS.—THE CRITCHLAWS.—AURORA BOREALIS.—THE CIVIL WARS.—STORMING OF BOLTON.—DEATH OF WILLIAM CRITCHLAW.—THE FATHER VISITS HOLLAND.

THE account which Fuller has given of the conference at Hampton Court is in the best manner of that very sensible and agreeable writer, and has every appearance of authenticity and truth. The king, whenever he interposes, makes very shrewd and pertinent remarks ; and in those days, when men had not learned the slow-coming truth, that there is a toleration and a variety in christian practice quite consistent with the existence of as much ecclesiastical order as is absolutely necessary, it would have been no easy matter to reply to the answer which he gave to the application for indulgence to the Puritan ministers, on the ground that if then compelled to conformity they would lose their credit in the country:—"You show yourself an uncharitable man: we have here taken pains, and in the

end have concluded on unity and uniformity ; and you, forsooth, must prefer the credits of a few private men before the peace of the church. This is just the Scotch argument when anything was concluded which disliked some humours. Let them either conform themselves shortly or they shall hear of it*." But with all his sense and shrewdness he wanted the higher reach which could comprehend the depth of religious feeling in the minds of so many of his subjects, the height of the excitement which the Reformation had produced, the effect of the example of the martyrs of the Reformation ; or see in the determination thus expressed, the source of infinite misery to his family, and a principal cause of the final ruin of his royal house. No doubt concessions were required of antient rights of the crown which it could hardly be expected would be surrendered without an appeal to the sword ; but it was mainly the religious feeling which gave bitterness to the contest, and enabled the popular party to achieve the victory.

The wisdom would have been to overlook the little peculiarities of particular ministers, not interfering with them if they did not conform to the order of the church in every minute circumstance, as long as their irregularities were innocuous and they acquitted themselves well in the higher duties of their office. If their peculiarities gave offence to any of their parishioners who loved the ceremonies as ardently perhaps as the pastor disliked them, and an arbitrement was necessarily required from some authority which by law could decide between them, it would have been the wiser part to deal with the offending party as easily as possible, to act rather as the mediator than the judge. The probability is, that while the church held on as a body a steady and uniform course, the controversy about trifles such as these would have passed away, and in fifty years they would have been as little thought of as they are thought of now.

* *The Church History of Britain*, Book ix. p. 7-21.

And even the higher matters, the Sabbatical question, the Liturgical question, the Episcopal question, and the Calvinian question,—if where the authority lay there had been moderation and forbearance without any compromise of important principle, though in a community like that of Englishmen, who were well described by Polydore a century before as the most religious nation upon earth, and who possessed the freedom which the Reformation rightly or wrongly understood was supposed to give to private opinion in matters of religion, there could never have been an entire agreement,—the aggravation which religious difference gave to the political struggle might have been avoided.

It is, indeed, always the wisdom of the party in whom the power is vested to use it with extreme moderation, and to leave to the weaker party to vent itself in intemperate language and ineffectual efforts. There certainly was no provocation wanting on the part of the Puritans. In fact, there was action and reaction, irritation and counter-irritation, in the whole contest of the reigns of James and Charles. But it seems to have been a great mistake in the policy of those who undertook the administration of ecclesiastical affairs, to introduce new and vexatious provisions, things directly opposed to the prejudices of the Puritans, and which could be regarded by them in no other light than as so much insult added to the injury they were receiving. King James, in the fifteenth year of his reign, passed through Lancashire, and having “observed that the precise ministers and magistrates there hindered the people from their Sunday sports, by which occasion was given to the Papists to represent the reformed religion as opposed to all honest mirth and recreation,” put forth a declaration that “his good people should no longer be disturbed in their amusements after divine service, such as dancing, archery, leaping, vaulting; nor from having may-games, Whitsun-ales, or morris-dances, and setting up of may-poles, so as the same be had in due and convenient

time, without impediment or let of divine service ; and that women should have leave to carry rushes to the church for the decoring of it according to their old custom*." This was revived by King Charles the First in the ninth year of his reign. Few now would defend the principle of this declaration ; but it was an unnecessary irritation of the other party, while it gave no real strength to the church or state. It was, moreover, in the eyes of the deeply religious, at variance with a direct divine command ; for, taught to look to the Scriptures for the rule of their religious practice, they had not any well-considered principles on which to determine what divine injunctions are limited and temporary, and what universal and permanent. As to the question, what constitutes a day ; whether it is from midnight to midnight, or from the beginning of evening to the beginning of the next,—the most active of the Puritans would probably leave such nice distinctions to the judgment of the antiquaries of the time †.

The Arminian question, and the countenance given to the Arminian side in the controversy concerning the doctrine of the Church of England, were also very distasteful to the Puritans ; who, though thinking much more of strictness and holiness of life than of any particular interpretation of the doctrinal portions of the scriptures, were yet inclined to what is called Calvinism : and Laud, the great patron of the moderate view of the

* Fuller, *Church History*, Book x. p. 24, where also are the remarks upon it of that good, sensible and kind-hearted man.

† The Puritans considered things lawful on other days not lawful on the afternoon of Saturday. Rothwell, a Bolton man, was reprov'd by Midgley, the vicar of Rochdale, for playing at bowls on a Saturday afternoon, and the reproof was so mixed with exhortation and warning that he became from that time a deeply religious person, and soon a most zealous minister. There is an account of his life by Stanley Gower, full of remarkable particulars. Within my own remembrance, in the families who descended from the old Puritans, there was a kind of sanctity thrown over the evening of Saturday.

doctrine of the articles, owed his death as much to this as to his strong assertion of episcopal authority and the support he gave to the royal prerogative. Here was a substantial subject of controversy; but Laud irritated the Puritans by an uncalled-for multiplication of ceremonies, by wishing to make the services of the English church more ornate than they had been left by the Reformers, and by introducing practices which were deemed by the religious party superstitious, and, in the loose way in which they applied the word, idolatrous. To suppose that such men as the Puritans could be won over by what they deemed irreligious vanities, or that a powerful religious party could be raised on such a basis, was to show but little knowledge of the Puritan character, or of the common principles of human nature. There were also acts in the case of particular persons of a severity which the public feeling did not sanction.

There is indeed a natural and honest indignation which rises in every mind not greatly prejudiced, at every act of heavy punishment, where the offence has arisen but out of a regard to the full discharge of every duty towards God, whether it approve the judgment of what is so required, or deem it but the erroneous conclusion of a well-intentioned but ill-instructed mind. Such acts may be but the result of Catholic or Protestant zeal against what is deemed dangerous error, but they are felt by most persons now to be opposed to the dictates of humanity, and to be unbecoming the weak and fallible nature of man.

Richard Heywood, the father of Mr. Heywood, was brought up to the business of the country, and became in the course of his life a considerable merchant, as merchants then were, and entered into various speculations, in which for a time he was very successful. He was a man of talent and enterprise, decided in his purposes, and through the whole period of his varied life eminently a religious man. The seed was first sown by

his mother, who, while his father was inattentive and reluctant, was accustomed to take him with her to attend the preaching of Mr. Hubbert. At the age of nineteen he entered a society of young men who "maintained days and duties of fasting and prayer, conference and other Christian exercises." In 1615 he married Alice Critchlaw of Longworth, near Walmesley Chapel.

Mr. Heywood says nothing of his mother's father, but speaks of the eminent piety of his grandmother Critchlaw. There were also two brothers of Mrs. Heywood, older than herself, who were remarkable for their religious zeal. As to herself, she was nineteen before she had received any strong religious impression. When it began to be felt, it produced very unfortunate effects: I give the very words in which Mr. Heywood describes them, that there may be no misapprehension:—"She lived two full years in self-lamenting plight, at the next door to despair, still suffering God's terrors and refusing to be comforted. She thought her condition without parallel, and far worse than ever any body's else was, and that there was no hope of mercy for so vile a sinner." What could she have done to afford a reasonable ground for apprehensions such as these? What is there in the teaching of Jesus, to lead a young and innocent girl, whose utmost fault was perhaps some little excess of gaiety of heart, to entertain thoughts such as these? It was the preaching of Mr. Hill*, the minister on whose services the family were accustomed to attend, which

* This Mr. Hill, the minister at Walmesley Chapel, is the same, I believe, with Mr. Joshua Hill, minister afterwards of Bramley Chapel, near Leeds, where he died only a few hours before a summons reached his house to appear in the Archbishop's Court to answer a charge for not wearing the surplice, and other acts of Puritan nonconformity. Calamy, *Account*, p. 81; and *Duc. Leod.*, Whitaker's Edition, p. 209. He died in 1636, leaving a son, Joseph Hill, some time Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge; a nonconformist under the Uniformity Act, who spent the greater part of his subsequent life in Holland, author of the well-known edition of Schrevelius.

brought her into this state. But he who had wounded wanted the power to heal, and her friends called in the assistance of Mr. Horrocks, a neighbouring minister, "whose voice in those days," says Mr. Heywood, "was an oracle." Yet what a spiritual adviser must he have been, if what Mr. Heywood further says is literally true, that he taught this timid and innocent creature to compare herself with David when overwhelmed with a sense of the guilt he had contracted*! The cloud, however, at length passed away. As it had gathered under preaching, so by preaching it was dispersed. She heard a sermon from the text in the Canticles, "My beloved is mine and I am his." From that day she became composed and cheerful; and mindful of the happy change which it had produced in her, when near her end, she directed that the minister who preached at her funeral should be requested to take those words as the text of his discourse.

Mr. Horrocks preached the nuptial sermon, for no

* It was no singular case. If the reader wish to see a parallel instance, in which there are numerous afflictive details, let him read the printed *Life of Mrs. Drake*, the lady by whom *Shardeloes* came to that family. In *Barksdale's 'Memorials'* is also an account of a case precisely similar. In fact, it grew out of the theory of Christianity which the Puritans countenanced. I transcribe from *Barksdale* the manner in which the notion was encountered by a sensible man of the time:—"He called her into his private chamber, and with a stern countenance said thus; 'Thou thinkest God has no mercy for thee, but will surely damn thee: come on, then; blaspheme thou God.' The daughter was amazed at this command of her father; and when he still pressed her to try her, fell down at his feet, and cried out, 'Though you be my father, yet I dare not, at your command, sin against my God: I dare not blaspheme his holy name.' 'Thou fool,' said the father, with tears in his eyes, 'and canst thou think that that God whom thou fearest to displease, whom thou darest not sin against, can be so cruel as to damn thee? Avoid Satan.' The poor daughter received comfort presently, and the good father was overjoyed."—p. 142. It appears again in the religious biography of the Methodists of the last century. The resemblance of the case of *Sir Richard Hill*, as described by himself, to this of *Mrs. Heywood*, is most striking. See the '*Life*' of him by the *Rev. Edwin Sydney*.

opportunity of preaching was in those days neglected. It was an early marriage, particularly on the part of the husband. They had many discouragements and difficulties in the first years of their married life. He had incautiously become responsible for the engagements of persons not named: this exposed him to great danger, and he was sometimes obliged to fly. The family at this period appear to have suffered great hardships. They retired for a year to the Water-side, as to a place in which they might live in secrecy and security. Mr. Heywood marks the year of his own birth, 1630, as the time when brighter prospects began to dawn in his father's house. He was then relieved from his difficulties; he opened correspondences with London; he was successful in his connections there, and might be said to be growing wealthy; he bought land and built houses out of the profits of his business; he sunk coal-pits at Little Lever, established a fulling-mill and a paper-mill, which latter cost him £200. There were more than twenty-five years of commercial prosperity; in the course of which he brought up two sons at the University, gave fortunes with his four daughters, and bore with little injury the extravagance of his eldest and youngest sons. This prosperity lasted till all the children of his first marriage were grown up, and the two scholars of the family were settled in the ministry. As life declined, misfortune again pressed upon him. "I must confess," says his son, "it is matter of great admiration to me to consider what an estate God gave my father that he might accomplish those works for the education of his children and for training up my good brother and me at the University, and for doing God service in his church; and when he had done that work which he gave it him for, took it quite from him again." I shall have occasion to recur to this change hereafter. At present it is sufficient to observe concerning the temporal fortunes of the father of Mr. Heywood, that he lived to the year 1671, and that when he died there was

inscribed on his grave-stone in the church-yard of Bolton, "*There the weary be at rest!*"

In either fortune, religion was a predominant principle or sentiment in his mind. We have at present to speak of the family in the days of its prosperity, and now more particularly of the mother. She enjoyed the full tide of the family's prosperity, dying before the evil days returned; and she seems to have been deserving of the favours which were so copiously shed upon their dwelling by the kind and religious use which she made of them. I give her character in the very words of her son:—"She was very kind to her poor neighbours; paid for the schooling of many poor children; a great lover of peace; when people quarreled, she used to fall upon them with plain downright homely rhetoric and scripture grounds, that few had power to deny her request. She was a great lover of ministers; rejoiced exceedingly that she had two sons brought up to that honourable office: a reverend divine used to call her the Mother of the Clergy. She was the centre of news for knowing the time and place of week-day sermons; kept conferences and private fasts; an irreconcilable enemy to the bishops' government, she did confidently believe that she must see their downfall many years before they came down. She was much rejoiced at the calling, confirming and success of the parliament in 1641; at the taking of the Covenant, and any beginning of reformation. Having obtained leave of officers, she showed her forwardness in demolishing relics of superstition." What can this mean, but, that like the French wife of Whittingham, the Dean of Durham, who burnt in her fire the beautiful and venerable banner of Saint Cuthbert, under whose shade the English army had so often driven back an invading enemy, she destroyed what still remained of the works of ancient art in the church of Bolton and the chapels around? Yet Mrs. Heywood had some reverence for history and antiquity; for "she did recount, and cause to be written fair over,

a great number of the national mercies and admirable deliverances, to excite a present thankfulness and to be a memorial to succeeding ages. When the chapels in the neighbourhood were vacant, she used every means in her power to procure the settlement of pious ministers in them. The very last day she spent at Bolton, and the very last work she did in Lancashire, was to exert herself to bring such a minister to the chapel in Ainsworth, having succeeded in getting together a meeting of ministers and of some of the people to consult about it, which was the only means to accomplish the end." We have few sketches of the character of the private puritan woman so distinct and minute as this.

She had the principal share in the religious education of her children. With such a mother, when the cares of the world or the vanities of life did not greatly interpose to turn the current of their thoughts, what could be the result, but that the religious sentiment would be deeply engrafted and would appear in actions, its natural fruits? But we see that she had entered fully into the opinions and prejudices of the party. What could ensue, but that these also would be communicated to her children, and would greatly influence the form and colour of their religious practice? The fact which her son relates, that she destroyed the works of superstition in the ecclesiastical edifices of the neighbourhood, shows that she must have gone to the full extent both of the opinions and feelings of her party.

I cannot forbear making a few remarks on this subject. The old ecclesiastical edifices of England are still beyond all comparison the most beautiful and interesting objects in our beautiful island; yet we see them, even those which we think the least injured, but in their ruins, despoiled of their choicest ornaments of painting and sculpture, those which made them worthy what Heylyn says of them, that they were "before the Reformation exquisite*." It is a popular notion, that this work

* *Microcosmus*, 4to, 1625, p. 463.

of destruction is to be attributed to the Puritans. In an extended sense of the word Puritan, it is so ; but if by Puritan is meant that section of the English church which acquired the name towards the close of the reign of Elizabeth, it seems that the popular opinion is in error. Some attention to this question, and a close examination of many of these edifices, has convinced me that the great work of destruction must have been committed in the very early periods of the Reformation, and that it was but little that was left for the Dowsings and others of the age of triumphant Puritanism to do*. The most exquisitely beautiful portions of the churches were the chantries, which usually contained the effigies of the founders, and a richly ornamented altar ; and the windows were usually composed of ' storied glass.' These became useless, and were judged to be haunts of superstition, as soon as the act of the First of Edward the Sixth gave all the revenues by which they were supported to the king, when they would fall into neglect.

If the destruction of these works lies less at the door of the Puritans, usually so called, than of their fathers, the zealots of the Reformation, still it is evident they came in the rear of the work, and the principle was in both cases the same. And I cannot forbear from adding, that in a step such as this, Mrs. Heywood was proceeding beyond what either her station or her intelligence could justify. She was not only depriving many of her neighbours of what were agreeable and edifying objects of contemplation, and posterity of valuable memorials of past ages, but she was also doing great violence to the feelings of many around her †.

* Weever's work, the *Antient Funeral Monuments*, which was published as early as 1631, shows distinctly that the chief spoliation had been committed in the early years of the Reformation.

† She was not without examples of the same feeling and mode of action. Mr. Bruen, who came from Stapleford in Cheshire to attend the Lecture at Manchester, a gentleman of ancient family, actually destroyed the painted glass in the windows of his own chapel in the church of Tarvin. His biographer, a Lancashire minister, thus speaks

We turn to a more agreeable subject, the care which she took in the education of her son.

of the act:—"Finding in the church of Tarvin, in his own chapel, which of ancient right did appertain unto him and his family, many superstitious images and idolatrous pictures in the painted windows, and they so thick and dark, that there was, as he himself saith, scarce the breadth of a groat of white glass amongst them; he, knowing by the truth of God, that though the Papists will have images to be laymen's books, yet they teach no other lessons but of lies, nor any doctrine but that of vanities to them that profess to learn by them; and considering that these dumb and dark images by their painted coats and colours did both darken the light of the Church and obscure the brightness of the Gospel, he presently took order to pull down all these painted puppets and popish idols, in a warrantable and peaceable manner; and of his own cost and charge, repaired the breaches and beautified the windows with white and bright glass again."

We are not told what the subjects of these paintings were; possibly figures of his own ancestry, or of good men in times long past. But we may extract from Prynne's burlesque account, what the paintings were in the church of Saint Edmund at Salisbury, which the recorder of the time, an over zealous man, broke to pieces, for which act he was very justly punished by the Star-Chamber. It is clear that there the several compartments presented the six days' work of creation, and the rest of the sabbath; to which no more rational objection could be made, than to the reading in the church the *vivid delineations* of the same work by the hand of Moses.

I find a reason for destroying the painted glass, which few would have suspected, in a story related by Mr. Heywood:—"Dr. Uly was preacher in Essex, and in the beginning of the Long Parliament was accused before a committee of much superstition. They produced and laid upon the table before them a curious surplice with a cross and glorious workmanship in the breast. It was inquired of the churchwardens, who put them on to make it? They said, Dr. Uly, who at last confessed that he made it *after a pattern in the church window*, and wept much, saying, 'Tis true indeed I have been too zealous for the ceremonies.'" How really harmless everything of the kind is, and how exquisitely beautiful, is felt in the Minster at York, where the rich painted glass was saved in the civil wars by the care of a Puritan, of better taste than the rest, one of the Lords Fairfax, either Ferdinando or Thomas. It feeds no superstition.

But little has been spared in comparison with what was destroyed: sculptures, paintings, embroidery, goldsmiths' work, illuminated manuscripts; not to mention the edifices themselves in which these things were preserved, splendid monuments of the architectural taste and skill of ages ignorantly called dark. Can mischief of any kind

Mr. Heywood was her third son and fifth child: one son died in his infancy. He was a nonconformist from his cradle; for at his baptism in the church of Bolton on the 15th of March, 1630*, which he kept as his birthday, the day of his birth having been forgotten, he was not signed as usual with the sign of the cross. Old Adam Hulton, a brother of his grandmother, was one of his godfathers.

Mrs. Andrews, of Little Lever Hall, the principal person of the village †, was his godmother. She held him at the font; and as soon as Mr. Gregg, the vicar, had pronounced the words, "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost," she stepped back with the express purpose of preventing the minister from making the sign over him, which Mr. Gregg himself was not over-forward to do ‡. Mr. Hey-

really have lurked in things which "strike at the seat of beauty in the mind" as these do?

* There is a slight difficulty in determining whether this is to be understood of March 1629 or March 1630. The current of his life would rather lead us to consider it as meaning March 1629, but 1630 was really the year. In the parish register of Halifax, in the entry of his marriage in April 1655, he is said to be aged twenty-five. In the epistle to his relations in Lancashire, prefixed to his treatise entitled 'The Two Worlds,' which is dated December 30, 1699, he says that he is within a few days of the age of man—seventy years; and in his diary, under March 15, 1666–7, he says, "this day thirty-seven years ago was I baptized;" and under March 15, 1701–2, "the day of my baptism at Bolton seventy-two years ago." A year it will be perceived is of some importance in the history of his outset in life. He began his ministry while exceedingly young.

† She was the heiress of the Levers of Little Lever; Hethe, the daughter of Thomas Lever, and the wife of Nicholas Andrews, a son of William Andrews of Twywell in Northamptonshire. They had a son named John, who was living at Little Lever in 1664, when the Heralds held their visitation, and was then married to Jane, daughter of Robert Lever of Darcy Lever. To one of these families of Lever, probably the Levers of Little Lever, belonged Thomas Lever, one of the Protestant exiles in the reign of Queen Mary, who in the reign of Elizabeth was Master of Sherburn Hospital in Durham.

‡ Mr. Gregg married one of the numerous family of Crompton of Brightmet, between whom and the Heywoods there was a double connexion; one of Mr. Heywood's sisters having married Thomas

wood records his approval of what she did ; looking, he says, upon the ceremony as not grounded upon the word of God. He regarded the act also as “ possibly a providential presage of his becoming a nonconformist minister.” He speaks also with satisfaction of “ the great number of faithful witnesses who were present at his admission into infant church-membership, who prayed for him, and into whose number he was immediately entertained.” The name of Oliver was first given him by the women who stood by at his birth, out of respect to the memory of his grandfather*, then lately deceased ; and it was confirmed to him by Mr. Gregg at his baptism.

The description which Mr. Heywood has left of his natural disposition and his childish practices is conceived in a spirit of self-abasement, in which he, in common with the religious party to whom he belonged, was fond of indulging. What could there have been in him so different from what is seen in children in general to justify such an expression as this?—“ When I was a child I spake as a child, yea, rather like a devil incarnate. Oh, the desperate wickedness of my deceitful heart ! ” It may be concluded, however, that he had been subjected to the influence of evil example, and that all that

Crompton of that place, and Mr. Heywood himself having married to his second wife Abigail Crompton, a younger sister of Mrs. Gregg. The vicar of Bolton was of the Puritan family of Gregg of Chester and afterwards of Hopwood Hall in Lancashire, who are now represented by the family of Gregg-Hopwood.

* There had been an Oliver Heywood before the time of his grandfather ; and what is remarkable, he was a person zealous in his way of religion, as his namesakes were in theirs. He was a Catholic priest, and his name is preserved in consequence of his apprehension in the year 1574, at the house of Lady Guldeford in London, when present at the celebration of mass. I do not know that he was a Lancashire man, but there is a slight probability that he might be so, arising out of the circumstance that there was arrested at the same time a gentlewoman of the Countess of Derby. See an account of the affair in Strype, *Annals*, 8vo, 1824, vol. ii. part i. p. 497.

had been done for their moral and religious improvement had not banished profaneness of speech from amongst the children of Little Lever.

That he was "backward to good exercises" is another confession in his catalogue of infantine delinquencies. In this he may be believed and excused. The wonder rather is, that any children could have been brought to fall in with the strictness of the Puritan discipline, or to endure the tedious, and, as it now appears, uninteresting discourses and the longsome prayers at which day by day they were required to be present. That many young children were brought to conform to such a mode of life, and even to enter with interested minds into the domestic services of the Puritan families of those times, is one of the most striking instances of what may be done with the human mind when it is taken early, with the intention of bending it in a particular direction. Mr. Heywood cannot have remembered a time when the exercises to which he was backward were not spoken of in his father's house as the appointed and essential means of obtaining the divine favour and final salvation. At a very early age his mother was accustomed to instruct him "in the deep points of divinity, the fall in Adam, the corruption of our nature, subjection to the curse, redemption by Christ, the necessity of regeneration, the immortality and worth of the soul, the weight and concernment of eternity." The book which she chiefly used in the religious instruction of her children was Mr. Ball's Catechism*, which he learned by heart. This was before the Assembly of Divines had

* This was a book in great repute in the Puritan families, superseded by the Assembly's Catechism. Of John Ball, the author of it, there is some account in the 'Athenæ,' a little tinged with the prejudices of the author of that work. He was a minister at Whitmore, near Newcastle-under-line, of great note in his day, now forgotten. Mr. Newcome, of Manchester, in his Life of Mr. John Machin, who was a pupil of Mr. Ball's, calls him "that famous Mr. John Ball of Whitmore, who brought up several youth in school-learning, together with his own son." 12mo, 1671, p. 2.

published their Catechism. It was her practice also to set her children to pray in the family while they were very young. They were also present at all the religious conferences, and the days of fasting and prayer and thanksgiving, that were kept at his father's house. His mother frequently took him to hear the most famous preachers in the country around; Mr. Horrocks of Dean, Mr. Harrison of Walmesley Chapel, and Mr. Johnson of Ellenbrook. Sometimes she would take him a longer journey to hear Mr. Angier of Denton. But in those days listening to a sermon of three hours' continuance was not all with which the attention of youth was taxed. He was required to carry home 'the minister's method,' that is the heads and particulars of the discourse. He made notes of them as soon as he was able to write, at the time of delivery; and he assures us, that when himself a preacher, he found the use of the notes which he had made of the discourses of famous ministers whom he heard in his youth.

His father had collected a valuable library of practical divinity and expository theology. He had the works of Luther and Calvin in English, and the writings of Perkins, Preston, and Sibbes, the favourite English authors with the Puritans who lived before the wars. The books were bought by him on his visits to London when he went on his commercial affairs.

As the times grew darker, the religious exercises at his father's house were more frequent, and the spirit in which they were conducted more fervid. These meetings exposed those who frequented them to suspicion in the minds of such persons as the Earl of Derby and his son, and exposed them also to ecclesiastical censures: so that they were held with a certain degree of caution; and it was the custom to place a boy in the "entry" which led to the door of his father's house, whose business it was to sing and shout to deaden the sound of the praying within. Mr. Heywood tells us that he had himself been so employed: "I can well remember that,

when at my father's house they had a private fast when I was a child, they set me a singing about the door, that when the apparitor came he might not hear them pray." This was just before the civil war began in earnest. "Many days of prayer have I known my father keep among God's people: yea, I remember a whole night wherein he, Dr. Bradshaw, Adam Fearnside, Thomas Crompton, and several more excellent men, did pray all night in a parlour at Ralph Whittal's*, as I remember upon occasion of King Charles the First demanding the five members of the House of Commons. Such a night of prayers, tears and groans I was never present at in all my life: the case was extraordinary, and the work extraordinary." This is a valuable anecdote, and we have reason to regret that it did not enter more into Mr. Heywood's plan to record the impression made on a private family like his, living remote from London, by the more important events as they occurred in that eventful period. The noble historian of those times has described in his vivid and masterly manner the effect produced by this rash step within the walls of the city and in the counties near the metropolis, into which "seditious ministers," as he calls them, were immediately despatched; but here we see that the alarm was felt at the extremity of the kingdom, and led to exercises which tended to gird up the minds of the disaffected for the conflict that was impending. The Critchlaws† were

* Meetings for prayer which endured for the whole night were no very uncommon occurrence in the Puritan families of those times. "A most unwearied man he was in religious duties, and was never observed to give over, though sometimes on special occasions they continued all night therein. After one of these days of special communion with God, he retired with two or three beloved friends in private, and there moved each of them to name some *one thing* they would chiefly desire of the Lord, and so each of them prayed over all those particulars that were cast in."—Newcome's *Life of Machin*, p. 47.

† There were four of them, William, Francis, Hugh, and Ralph. William lived at Bolton, and died of wounds received in the civil wars. Francis also lived at Bolton. When very young, old Oliver

among the most earnest at these private meetings. They practised, if they may not rather be said to have devised, a peculiar method of prayer. One spent a portion of time previously agreed upon in confessing sin; another, the like portion in entreating personal mercies; another, public mercies; another, in thanksgiving. Francis, the favourite uncle, and he who next to his parents had the most to do in the religious education of Mr. Heywood, was supposed to be the most effectual in prayer. It is not surprising, considering how excited was the Puritan mind by the long series of oppressive acts to which the party had been subjected, the apprehensions which were entertained of still darker days, and the undefined and not very unreasonable alarm in which they were placed by the massacre in Ireland, that we trace in the record of these midnight devotions supposed answers to prayer, or manifestations which were construed into evidences of special attention being given to their devotions. "In the parlour of my father's house at a private fast, many Christians being present, when my uncle Francis was at prayer, wonderfully carried out in affection and strong wrestlings, all on a sudden a bright shining light, far brighter than the sun, shone in the room. It dazzled and astonished them. My uncle

Heywood after his conversion is reported to have said of him to his sons, "That lad that comes out of the Moors has more zeal than you all." "He was my intimate dear friend: I scarce ever was in his company without sensible advantage. He was very useful in discourse, especially in asking pertinent and profitable questions with which he was furnished abundantly in his younger days in those frequent conferences they maintained. He was indeed a very judicious, solid, experienced Christian; a Mnason, an old disciple long trained in the school of Christ." Such is the character which his nephew gives of him. Hugh lived very much at Shrewsbury: he had not the same amount of zeal as his elder brothers. Ralph, the youngest, "was the most proper witty man of them all." He married a daughter of Mr. Cross, the minister at the church in Friday Street, London, and settled at Wrexham, where he got a great estate, and in the Oliverian times was a justice of the peace;—"a godly man, though possibly not much better for his greatness, yet I believe a savour of godliness abode on his heart to his dying day."

gave over. They rose off their knees; were amazed; said nothing, but looked one upon another: heard no voice. It continued about a quarter of an hour, as long as one might have gone to the further side of the Little Meadow and back again, as Luke Hoyle hath told me, who was then present. This was a little before the wars in the heat and height of the bishops' tyranny over godly ministers." The story is deficient in particularity. It does not even appear whether it were day or night. If at night it was doubtless the northern aurora, peculiarly vivid, then rarely seen in England*.

Mr. Heywood was from twelve to sixteen when the civil wars were at their height. Again I say with regret that his notices of the occurrences of the time are few. Of the resistance which the inhabitants of Manchester made to the entrance of the Earl of Derby into their town, he takes no notice, nor of the assistance which the people of Bolton sent them at that time of danger. No where did the people enter into the spirit of the conflict with more earnestness than at those two places. The Cavaliers called Bolton the Geneva of Lancashire. Even of the attack which Prince Rupert and the Earl of Derby made upon that town, when many of his friends and acquaintance must have fallen, I find no

* That the aurora borealis did appear about the beginning of the civil wars to heighten the excitement of the time, we have direct evidence from Mr. Heywood.—“On Thursday night, March 2, 1664-5, some company came to my house, and as they came they saw a strange flaming northward. One said it was just like that streaming that she saw above twenty years ago, immediately before the Scotch wars, and she never saw any except that. We all went out to look at it. It was dark night, something stormy, and in the north we saw a bright place which was constantly light, but sometimes far brighter, and looked always far and wide in the air. It was so bright sometimes that we might have seen anything very clearly on the ground. It shone in at the windows, and was in my apprehension very formidable to behold.” An appearance of these lights about fifty years after is sometimes spoken of as the first appearance of them in England.

memorials in any of his writings which remain. Yet his testimony would have had an historical value in the balance of probabilities in the discordant accounts. When the most favourable construction is put upon the conduct of the prince and the earl, it must be allowed that severities were used to a prostrate foe at which both English and Christian feeling revolts. It is said that 1800 persons were put to the sword*. The 28th of May was long remembered by the people of Bolton, and is probably not yet forgotten. The Earl of Derby was the first person who entered the town. It was as an atonement for the blood needlessly shed on this occasion, that when the earl fell into the hands of his enemies after the battle of Worcester, and was sentenced to death, execution was done upon him in the market-place at Bolton.

The death of his uncle, William Critchlaw, is almost the only civil war anecdote which Mr. Heywood relates. "Though he was not a soldier, yet when he heard of a fight nigh at hand, or a town to be taken by the parliament army, he used to take his musket and run to the army, and be present in any hazardous expedition. This cost him his life: for when Colonel Holland and Colonel Ashton with their regiments went to take Wigan, though the town was taken, yet this zealous champion got shot into the shoulder, and another bullet was in the thigh. He was brought to his daughter's at Bolton, and there about a fortnight after died of those wounds, but with invincible courage, uttering many gracious expressions near his end. Indeed he was of an undaunted spirit;

* This appears to be an exaggerated statement. According to a pamphlet of the time, "penned by an Eye-witness," and in which, to judge from the terms of the title there would probably be no softening of the harshness of the treatment which the town received, 'An Exact Relation of the bloody and barbarous massacre at Bolton in the Moors in Lancashire' (published August 22, 1644), it is said that the number of the slain on both sides was "about 1200 or 1500 in all." The pamphlet contains no particulars of interest.

having made his peace with God, and living in assured hope of heaven, he feared not death."

Mr. Heywood's father was absent from England at the time of the attack on Bolton; and the business on which he was gone shows the esteem in which he was held by his neighbours, and the influence he possessed in the religious concerns of the parish. Mr. Gregg, the vicar, died early in that year. Mr. Robert Pike, who had been an officiating minister in the town, had left Bolton and gone to reside in Holland, where he was minister of the English congregation at Rotterdam. It was the wish of the parish that Mr. Pike might be prevailed upon to return, and Mr. Heywood was selected "as a man of judgment, capacity, and interest," to proceed to Holland and negotiate with him. He went accordingly, and succeeded. He took the opportunity of visiting several other towns in Holland, and on landing at Hull he "was surprised with the astonishing tidings of Prince Rupert's taking Bolton, killing man, woman, and child, as the affair was represented to him." On his way home he passed through York, when he visited the field near the village of Marston where the great battle had been fought, and from which the bodies of the slain were not removed. On his return home he found that his own house at Little Lever had been full of alarm, and that his books were lost. His daughters had removed them out of the house, and placed them for security under a pile of wood. It was supposed that they were discovered by the soldiers and burnt.

CHAPTER III.

EARLY RELIGIOUS IMPRESSIONS.—PURITANS' ATTENTION TO THE EDUCATION OF THOSE INTENDED FOR THE MINISTRY.—MR. HEYWOOD'S DESTINATION TO THAT OFFICE.—HIS SCHOOL EDUCATION.—METHOD PURSUED IN THE LANCASHIRE SCHOOLS.—REMOVED TO CAMBRIDGE.—PERSONS WITH WHOM MORE PARTICULARLY CONNECTED THERE, HILL, AKEHURST, BIRCHALL.—STUDIES THERE.—HIS PREFERENCE OF FOUR EMINENT PRACTICAL WRITERS, PERKINS, BOLTON, PRESTON, AND SIBBES.—MR. HAMMOND, THE CELEBRATED CAMBRIDGE PREACHER.—JOLLIE, BENTLEY, NATHANIEL HEYWOOD, CONTEMPORARY WITH HIM AT CAMBRIDGE.—MAJOR JAMES JOLLIE.—LEAVES THE UNIVERSITY AND RETURNS INTO LANCASHIRE.

THE effects of such an education as Mr. Heywood received were very early manifest in anxious solicitude respecting his own state of acceptance with God. Speaking of the period of his life before he went to Cambridge, and apparently before he had reached his fifteenth year, he says, "How often did I think my state in some respects to be worse than that of birds and beasts, trees or stones; because by sin I am subject to eternal misery, of which they are incapable! Sometimes I durst not pray, lest I should take God's name in vain; and then by fits I had my inward troubles, fears, and doubts." He expatiates on this his state of mind in a somewhat oratorical manner, and it is needless to transcribe the whole; but the conclusion at which he arrives is of some importance to the right understanding his character and history, namely, that there was no period of his life on which he was able to fix and to say "That *then*, in that very week or month, the work of conversion was completed in him." And when in after life he reflected on this period of his religious history,

he says that he came to the same conclusion at which Baxter also arrived, "that God doth often make use of a religious education by natural parents as a means of first begetting converting grace; and that if parents were faithful and skilful in those relative duties, God would own that work to so great an end; and that public preaching of the word should be the more usual means of *confirmation* than *conversion*."

At the age of fourteen he began to receive the Lord's Supper in his parish church; and about the same time he entered a small society of young men who were accustomed to meet together once a fortnight for religious conversation and prayer.

It would seem from the account which has now been given as if nothing were attended to in the education bestowed on Mr. Heywood except the cultivation of the religious principle: but this was far from being the case.

No doubt in the families of the Puritans the first and principal object of the parent was to create in the minds of children a deep and awful sense of the relation in which we stand to our Creator, and the responsibilities under which we receive the gift of life; and this was much more an object and a business with them than in families less in earnest about these affairs, or more solicitous about the things of time. But wherever the means were afforded of receiving the benefits of a good education of another kind, they were not backward to avail themselves of them; so that some of the best scholars of the time came from the Puritan families, especially those learned in the writings of ancient and modern Christian divines.

But where the destination was to the ministry, great pains were always bestowed on the cultivation of the intellectual powers, and on giving that instruction which should enable the future minister to read the sacred writings pure as they are delivered down to us, as well as the writings of the early fathers of the church. No mistake is greater than to suppose that when we speak of

the Puritan minister we mean one who had zeal and piety without any tincture of learning. Their writings sufficiently prove the contrary. Only their learning was less prominent than their devotion and zeal.

Mr. Heywood manifested at a very early period of his life what his parents interpreted into an inclination for the office of minister, and a presage of his success in that honourable character. I pass over a childish story or two in which this inclination was supposed to be indicated; but what he relates of himself may be worthy preservation, that from the very earliest period to which his memory could ascend he had had a very reverent esteem of the ministry and those in it. As these indications coincided with the secret wishes of his parents, and especially of his mother, it was very early determined to prepare him for the ministry, and they sought out for him the best instruction which those parts of the country at that time afforded. But this, according to Mr. Heywood's own account, was not of the best quality. He was for a time at the public school at Bolton; he was also a pupil of Mr. Rathband, who had undertaken to instruct youth when he was suspended from the ministry by his diocesan.

He was under the care of other tutors, for he tells us that he was "very much retarded in his learning by change of school and variety of masters, and the negligence of some of them;" nor was it till his family had found out a certain Mr. Rudal, who lived somewhere in the wild country about Horwich, that he found himself in a position in which his own application and diligence were wisely seconded and directed. He profited more, he says, under this master in one year than he had done in four elsewhere. His brother Nathaniel, three years and a half younger than himself, who was also destined for the university and the ministry, was under the same schoolmaster. I wish we could recover something more respecting him. It is evident that he was a useful and valuable man.

It was here that Mr. Heywood must have laid that excellent foundation of grammar-learning which enabled him to speak and write the Latin language with fluency, if not with elegance, and that he must have read several of those ancient authors with whom we find him afterwards familiar.

Mr. Heywood has given no account of the method pursued by his schoolmaster, or of the particular books which were placed in his hands. The *curriculum* was probably in no respect different from that of other schools of the time in which grammar-learning was taught; but as this is a subject which seems now but imperfectly understood, I shall transcribe the account which another Lancashire minister, a friend of Mr. Heywood, has given of his own school-education in that county, at St. Helen's and Rainsford.

“ He received me when I was learning in *As in præ-senti* and Cato; and instructed me, in prose, in Corderius, Æsop's Fables, Tully's Offices, Epistles and Orations, together with Aphthonius for Latin in prose; and the Greek Grammar of Camden first, and Clenard afterwards, together with a Greek Catechism; and lastly, the Greek Testament, for I proceeded no further with him: and for poetry, in Mantuan, Terence, Ovid's Epistles and Metamorphoses, Virgil and Horace. The Rhetorics he read to us were Susenbrotus first, and Talæus afterwards. My exercises were usually a piece of Latin, of which he himself dictated the English every day of the week save Thursdays and Saturdays; and besides, somewhat weekly, as I rose in ability,—first, dialogues in imitation of Corderius or *Pueriles Confabulatiunculæ*; then an epistle, in which I was to follow Cicero, though (alas!) at a great distance; then themes (as we called them), in the way of Aphthonius, consisting of many parts, and taking up one side of half a sheet pretty thickly written; and, towards the latter end, good store of verses, most hexameters and pentameters, but some sapphics and alcaics. All that were presumed by their standing able

to discourse in Latin were under a penalty if they either spoke English or broke Priscian's head; but barbarous language, if not incongruous for grammar, had no punishment but derision. These were the orders we were subject to at teaching hours."

I am not acquainted with any account equally particular with this of the mode pursued in schools in the reign of Charles the First, and am tempted to extend the notice which we have of the same person's studies when transferred to another master.

"A new schoolmaster came to Rainsford that had the name of a very civil man and good teacher, and that not without cause. I confess as to great eminence of natural parts, and diligence in looking to our souls, I thought him inferior to his predecessor, and it was no small prejudice to me that the Popish gentry in the neighbourhood were so fond of him; yet I believe he was a Protestant, and it was only his being a great Anti-Puritan (which that place never had before) that probably was the reason they so highly valued him. Whatever was his opinion, he was an eminently able and diligent master. He had been brought up not only in a good school in Bolton, but after at the University a good season (I have heard five years), where, having a great affection to the Greek tongue and opportunity to hear the public professor, and to converse with other men, he had attained to a marvellous exactness in pronouncing it in the University manner, which till then I had not heard of. He was also skilful in the derivations of words, teaching us many that we could not find in any lexicon. Nor was he slight in examining us about the dialects not only in poets, but even in the Greek Testament, wherein he made us observe the Hebraisms, Latinisms, and idioms. He taught us also to make Greek exercises in prose and verse, and both in them and what we made in Latin he expected not only congruity, but elegancy. He spoke very good Latin to us in a constant way, put us to take out our lessons ourselves, and in

examining them he stood not so much upon parsing (as they called it) or scanning of verses and proving them, to which he found us well enured, as upon rhetorical tropes and figures; to fit us whereunto he removed us out of Talæus into Farnaby, laughing at Susenbrotus as an old dull piece which called the tropes as well as the scheme by the name of figures. He was also very notable at teaching us to observe all allusions in prophane authors to the sacred Scriptures, insomuch that any thing leaning that way should hardly pass his observation. I remember very well, when we were upon the story of Deucalion's flood in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, he took notice of these words, '*ubi nuper ararat*,' as thinking it a strange allusion (whether intended or accidental) to the mountain of Ararat upon which Noah's ark rested. He took a great deal of pains with me, especially in Homer's *Odyssey**."

Through such a course as this Mr. Heywood passed, and it is evident that thus an excellent foundation would be laid for the studies of the University †.

On the 9th of July, 1647, he was admitted of Trinity College, Cambridge, and immediately went to reside.

When his father took leave of him, he left with him six special admonitions: (1.) to humble himself fre-

* This long quotation is from a valuable piece of self-biography, the *Life of Adam Martindale*, which remains in manuscript of his own hand, in the Library of the British Museum. It is one of the Birch Manuscripts, No. 4239. Adam Martindale was a Puritan divine, six years older than Mr. Heywood, born at Prescot. Like Mr. Heywood, he refused to comply with the terms of the Act of Uniformity.

† He mentions incidentally two persons who were his schoolfellows, Mr. Thomas Isherwood, who was afterwards Vicar of Eccles, and whose death was supposed to be occasioned by intemperance. He fell from his horse into a shallow brook and was suffocated. Mr. William Hulme was another. He was afterwards a justice of the peace, and a great enemy of the Non-Conformists. His only son, Banaster Hulme, died when at school at Manchester, in consequence of a blow on the head in a quarrel with a schoolfellow. He was buried September 11, 1674, "the day," says Mr. Heywood, "of that unparalleled flood."

quently before God, and to do so at least every morning and evening; (2.) to read the Scriptures diligently; (3.) to keep a written record of his private meditations; (4.) to take notes of the sermons which he heard; (5.) to keep steadily in view the thought how short is life; and (6.) to maintain the just medium between too much solitariness and too much company.

The University was at that time exactly what the Puritans wished it to be; for the success of the Parliament had enabled the Puritan party to effect great changes both in the Church and the Universities. The Masters and Professors, who, however learned and qualified for the offices which they held, did not reach the Puritan standard in point of religion, had been removed from their places, and other persons had succeeded them who were distinguished as much by piety and religious zeal as by learning and skill in government.

Dr. Thomas Hill, the Master of Trinity, had been recently appointed under the authority of Parliament. I find little respecting him in Mr. Heywood's papers; but from other sources we derive the information that he was a person in very high esteem among the most zealous Puritans, a strenuous advocate of Calvinian views of the Christian doctrine, a diligent preacher in the chapel of his college, and who expounded the Scriptures there almost daily. One who studied in the college at the same time with Mr. Heywood says, "he learned more of Christ in one year from Mr. Hill's plain and precious Christ-advancing preaching than he had all his time before in the country." Dr. Hill would sometimes lay his hand upon his breast and say with emphasis, "Every Christian hath something here that will frame an argument against Arminianism."

He recommended Mr. Akehurst to Mr. Heywood for his tutor. Of this Mr. Akehurst Mr. Heywood says, that "he was then a flourishing instrument, and was looked upon as the most pious and laborious in all the college." He marks the time, because afterwards Mr.

Akehurst degenerated, or, as Mr. Heywood says, "grievously apostatized, becoming a common Quaker." But he retraced his steps, and became at last "a sober physician in Surrey." On the whole the pupil was satisfied. "I must confess he was careful of me, enquired of me what company I was acquainted with, sometimes read lectures to us, prayed with us in his chamber every night, and had sometimes about thirty pupils, and, as I thought, was a gracious savoury Christian; though I have often taken notice of his inconstancy, and being singular in differing from grave and sober divines, and pride, which was too visible in his apparel, gesture, and other outward tokens thereof."

Mr. William Birchall, at that time sizer to the Master, was the person who led Mr. Heywood to the selection of this college. He was afterwards a non-conforming minister.

Mr. Heywood gives no particular account of the course of study pursued in his time at the University. It is natural in a writer of self-biography to pass over that which is common to many and familiarly known to his contemporaries; but by this means we, in a remote generation, lose what would be valuable information, when the change of manners or the advancement of knowledge has brought about many alterations, so that the old modes, so far from being familiarly known, it is impossible perfectly to recover.

Only two books have descended among Mr. Heywood's manuscript remains which can be regarded as books of college exercises or college amusements. One is a large abstract of that really good and useful book, the *Itinerarium Totius Sacræ Scripturæ* of that almost-forgotten writer, Henry Bunting. This manuscript is of more than 250 pages of close writing in his minute penmanship. The exercise was good, as giving a distinctness and exactness to his knowledge of sacred history. The other is of a lighter character. It consists of (1.) a kind of theological common-place book; (2.) a

complete transcript of the *Horæ Vacivæ* of John Hall, the youthful poet of St. John's, first published the year before Mr. Heywood went to the University; (3.) the Antient History of the Septuagint, by J. Done; (4.) Selected and Choice Observations concerning the Twelve First Cæsars, by Edward Leigh; (5.) Some few Choice Observations collected out of "The Mirror that Flatters Not," by Le Sieur de la Serre; and (6.) Some Observations gathered out of Howell's Epistles. But we have no notes of lectures, nor any information of the nature of the theological lectures or of those in philosophy, which, however, Mr. Heywood attended, perhaps too indifferently. The principal studies of Cambridge in these times seem to have had no place there in the time of the Commonwealth. We have no traces at least of any thing like science in any thing that remains of Mr. Heywood. He pronounces a censure on himself for not applying more closely to the lectures in philosophy, in which natural philosophy may be included, prizing, as he says, learning above all sublunary exercises, and thinking that he might afterwards have been more useful had he improved his time better therein. He stood for a scholarship and failed. The failure was however partly, perhaps principally, owing to a severe illness of two months' continuance. What he further relates of himself may, however, have had something to do with his disappointment: "My time and thoughts were more employed in practical divinity; and experimental truths were more vital and vivifical to my soul. I preferred Perkins, Bolton, Preston, Sibbes, far above Aristotle, Plato, Magirus, and Wendeton, though I despise no laborious authors in these subservient studies." This is a remarkable and highly characteristic acknowledgment, indicative of his future eminence as a preacher to the many.

The time has been when the four names whom Mr. Heywood thus honourably mentions would at once call up distinct ideas of certain writings left by the men who bore them with their peculiar characteristics and pur-

poses. At present it may, perhaps without offence, be presumed that they will call up only certain vague notions of treatises in practical divinity which were once read and esteemed. So that it may not be improper to add, that they were the men who had succeeded to the practical writers of the unreformed Church, and to those who adapted the works of those writers to the use of the reformed; men who lived when the Reformation controversy was in some measure over, and when there was a call for works in which the duties of men were explained and enforced on protestant principles, and the Christian consolations exhibited as the protestant can exhibit them. Their æra is from the middle of the reign of Elizabeth to almost the beginning of the civil wars, so that some of these writings were *new books*, when they were so eagerly read by Mr. Heywood. His own writings show how great an influence they had upon his mind.

Perkins had been a famous preacher at Cambridge in the reign of Elizabeth. His works, partly controversial and partly experimental, make three folio volumes, though his life was short. Bolton was a Lancashire man, a soil fruitful in men of a devotional spirit. He studied at Oxford, where he was renowned for his great learning, but his attention was not particularly turned to divinity till he was thirty-four. His most celebrated writings are entitled, "Directions for Walking with God;" "Instructions for the right comforting Afflicted Consciences;" "The Four Last Things." Preston was a celebrated tutor and preacher at Cambridge, who seems to have worn himself out in the work, dying in 1628, at the age of 41. Richard Sibbes was also a Cambridge divine, Fellow and Master of a college and preacher in one of the churches. Six-and-twenty tracts are attributed to him, of which "The Bruised Reed" and "The Soul's Conflict" are remarkable for having the especial commendations of Richard Baxter and Isaac Walton, two different men, but both admirable in their way;

Walton leaving copies of them in his will to his son and daughter. They are still highly valued by religious minds.

But there was at that time at Cambridge, a person who had probably a greater influence over Mr. Heywood than any other person living or dead. This was Mr. Samuel Hammond, the preacher at St. Giles'. His name occurs in the histories, where we have them, of almost every other divine who studied at Cambridge at the same time with Mr. Heywood. Dr. Calamy says of him, that he preached "with that pious zeal, pungency, and Christian experience, that from all parts of the town and from the most distant villages his useful ministry was attended on, and it was crowned with the conversion of some scores, I might have said hundreds, of scholars. It was the general opinion, that there was not a more convincing and successful minister at Cambridge from the time of Mr. Perkins than he*." And

* *Account of the Ejected and Silenced Ministers in 1662.* p. 499. —Mr. Hammond was a native of York, Fellow of Magdalene College at the time of which we speak. When he left Cambridge, he became Lecturer at St. Nicholas', in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where he was when silenced by the Act of Uniformity. But so eloquent a preacher did not long remain silent. The merchants of Hamburg invited him thither to be their chaplain. He went. Dr. Calamy states that the company requiring a renewal of their charter, Lord Clarendon refused to pass it, unless they would consent to dismiss Mr. Hammond. This is an act which requires explanation: but Lord Clarendon, great man as he was, and yet the unrivalled master of the historic pen, was not superior to personal dislikes. There are some gross instances in his work of that basest species of defamation, the *suppressio veri*. As to Mr. Hammond, he was forced to leave Hamburg. He wandered for a while in the North of Europe, going to Stockholm and Dantzick; but in a short time he returned to England, and died at Hackney in 1666. Mr. Heywood saw him there a fortnight before his death. Such was the fate of one who had doubtless lighted a pure flame in many a youthful bosom.

He married one of the Ogles of Northumberland, a Puritan family of eminence. The executor to his will was Ambrose Barnes, a merchant at Newcastle, an eminent Puritan of that town and a very remarkable man, who has left a large manuscript account of his own life

with this agrees the testimony of Mr. Heywood:—"I must confess my heart was many times very much affected under the ordinances at St. Giles's; and I cannot but with thankfulness acknowledge Mr. Hammond a profitable instrument for much good to my soul. Though the work might be wrought before, yet I am sure that it was much revived, cleared, and many mistakes removed. Oh! with what a frame of spirit have I come from that place! I usually met with a suitable, searching word, and one that warmed my heart."

Mr. Heywood speaks also of "the ingenious and gracious scholars with whom he had intimate familiarity, and was much furthered by them in the ways of the Lord." With two of them he lived in intimate communication and friendship for the remainder of their lives, notwithstanding differences of judgment with them, agreeing, however, in refusing to comply with the terms of conformity proposed after the Restoration. These were Eli Bently and Thomas Jollie. The latter of them was at Trinity College some time before Mr. Heywood. He was from the same neighbourhood, being the son of Major James Jollie, of Droilsden, in the parish of Manchester, who held the obnoxious office of Provost-Marshal in the Parliament army in the county of Lancaster*.

and opinions, full of valuable notices of men and events, and of a curious literature, such as would not be expected from a Newcastle merchant of those times. He gives an account of Mr. Hammond, who was his intimate friend. This manuscript, which is a large and thick folio, was lent to me many years ago by my venerable friend the Rev. William Turner, of Newcastle. It is now in the library of one of the literary societies of that town. Sir Cuthbert Sharp, among his many valuable contributions to the history of families and persons in Northumberland and Durham, has printed much of the biographical information contained in this singularly curious volume.

* Dr. Calamy gives a large account of Thomas Jollie, but does not name his father, who was a remarkable man, and the common ancestor of a large family in which there were many ministers, some of them of great eminence and usefulness, particularly his grandson, Timothy Jollie, who was the minister of the Non-Conformists at Sheffield, and the tutor in an academy in which many of the ministers of the early part of the last century were educated. It may not,

He soon admitted Mr. Heywood into his confidence and friendship. Mr. Heywood remembered this, and alluded to it in a letter written when they were both near the end of their labours. They were born and died nearly at the same time; they were ministers and Non-Conformists, neighbours and friends, had the same trials and the same encouragements.

In the second year of his residence at Cambridge Mr. Heywood was joined by his younger brother, Nathaniel, who being a riper scholar, as having enjoyed at an earlier period the benefit of the instruction of Mr. Rudal, the good schoolmaster, was thought ready for the University more than two years earlier in life than Oliver. He was

therefore, be improper to give the following short account of him:— He was the son of Thomas Jollie, of Abram, by Jane, daughter of John Aldred, of the same place; born about 1610, married Elizabeth Hall, of Droilsden, widow, who had a daughter that afterwards married Adam Martindale, the minister mentioned in a former note. He became a soldier as soon as the war commenced, and, by commission dated January 21, 1642, was made Provost Marshal General of all the Forces in Lancashire. By another commission, under the hand of Sir Thomas Fairfax, dated January 27, 1643, he was made Quarter-Master General of the Army; and by a third, under the hand of the same, Provost Marshal General in Lancashire, with power as Captain to choose his Lieutenant and subordinate officers. On February 3, 1647, he was commissioned in the same office to the garrison of Chester and the regiment under the command of Colonel Duckinfield, whose regiment had the command of the garrisons of Shrewsbury, Lancaster, Liverpool, and Ludlow; and again, on February 13 following, he was commissioned Quarter-Master of Colonel Duckinfield's regiment. In that year he raised a company for that regiment, of which he was appointed Captain, and served with it in Ireland. He was also Muster-Master for the County of Lancaster, by commission dated April 4, 1644. All these commissions were shown to Randal Holme, of Chester, who was acting as deputy to Riley, then Norroy King-at-Arms, in October 1648, and are recited in the grant of an augmentation to the arms borne by his family, which were, on a chief vert three right hands couped on a silver shield, namely, a bloody sword between two keys azure. The grant is still in possession of his descendants, and a copy of it may be seen in Harl. MS. 2161. f. 293. The arms are cut in stone on the tomb of Timothy Jollie, near the vestry-door of the chapel at Sheffield. Major Jollie died in 1666, having brought up three sons at the University. He was an original member of the Manchester Presbyterian Classis.

entered of Trinity College on May 4, 1648. "At that time," says his brother, "his heart was not seasoned with a principle of saving grace ; though he was religiously educated, united in holy exercises, loved God's people, and was not tainted with gross immorality, yet he had not discerned the evil of sin, the malignity of his nature, or the necessity of Christ, till he was brought under the ministry of Mr. Hammond, through whose plain and powerful preaching his mind became the subject of strong convictions which cost him many sad thoughts of heart, as well as tears, but ended at last in a genuine conversion, in sincere covenanting with God, and in centering his soul by faith on Jesus Christ." Between these two brothers there was the most complete community of sentiment and action, and the most perfect fraternal union. We shall hear more of him as we proceed.

After studying the usual number of terms, Mr. Heywood took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and departed from the University in the spring or early in the summer of 1650.

He rejoined his family in Lancashire.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PURITANS IN THE ASCENDANT.—DESTRUCTION OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH.—OTHER MEASURES OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES.—SCHEME OF A PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF ENGLAND.—NEVER EXECUTED.—RISE OF INDEPENDENCY.—ITS PRINCIPLE.—RAPID SPREAD.—SECTS ARISING OUT OF IT.—LANCASHIRE MADE A PROVINCE OF A PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.—INDEPENDENCY THERE.—CONTEST BETWEEN RICHARD HEYWOOD AND THE CONGREGATIONAL ELDERSHIP AT BOLTON.—REFLECTIONS.—MR. HEYWOOD IN THE SUMMER OF 1650.—HIS SETTLEMENT AS A MINISTER AT COLEY.

WE left the Puritans depressed, dispirited, and suffering under the policy which the princes of the house of Stuart adopted in respect of them; and with their hearts becoming every day more and more alienated from episcopacy, and hardening against the prelates, who were the instruments of the severe policy of the court. It was however apparent that things were advancing to a crisis; that these oppressive measures would soon have to encounter an active resistance; and that in fact a great political contest was near at hand. When it came, the issue was not long doubtful, as far as the subjection of the king and the overthrow of the Church were the things aimed at. What else was to come no one could possibly have foreseen.

One of the earliest measures of the reforming parliament was highly gratifying to the Puritans, as it was humiliating to the bishops. They were removed from their seats in parliament. But this was nothing to what soon followed; their revenues were confiscated, and the name, style, and office of bishop was declared by an ordinance of parliament to be for ever abolished in England. Laud, the archbishop of Canterbury, a man to be respected for his learning and the encouragement

he gave to learning, and admired for the stand he ventured to make against the Calvinian dogmas, as he is to be condemned for ostentation of power and the support he gave to prerogatives which it was time should be resigned, an old man of seventy years of age, was cruelly put to death. Other ecclesiastical dignities, such as dean, archdeacon, chancellor, and canon, were abolished, and the lands connected with them sequestered. The parochial clergy and lecturers alone remained, and they soon felt the effect of the spirit of change which was abroad. Commissioners were appointed to inquire into their lives and doctrine, with power to remove from their cures those who were found "ignorant or scandalous," and to put other ministers in their places; and this power was rigidly and severely exercised. A Declaration of the Faith of the English Church was published by authority of parliament more precise in its statements than the Articles to which the clergy had heretofore been accustomed to subscribe, and which left no kind of ambiguity under which persons of Arminian sentiments might shelter themselves. Two corresponding Catechisms, the greater and the less, were published, in which was embodied the religious instruction to be given to the young. The public use of the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments was prohibited, and a Directory for public Religious Service and for the Sacraments was issued, which allowed all the latitude in respect of ceremonies, gesture and vestments which the Puritans had so long and earnestly coveted. It gave them liberty also in the more important point of free prayer in the public assembly. Finally, there was a new national pledge or oath prepared, which, under the name of the Solemn League and Covenant, all persons who held any office, civil or ecclesiastical, were required to take, by which they bound themselves to the most zealous prosecution of all measures for political and religious reformation. All the points for which the Puritan party had been for so many years contending,

as far as they were destructive, were thus fully attained.

In these measures parliament moved with the concurrence and at the perpetual suggestion of a body of persons whom they had convoked, called the Assembly of Divines. This assembly consisted of three distinct classes of men. First, there were the divines, who formed by far the great majority, men summoned from every part of the kingdom who were supposed to excel their brethren in Christian knowledge and experience. Of these Lancashire sent two, namely, Richard Heyrick, the warden of Manchester, and Charles Herle, the rector of Winwick. There were next a few laymen, of whom the celebrated Selden was one, a man of whom it is no praise to say that he surpassed all the other members of the Assembly in learning, for in curious and profound scholarship he had not his superior among the most eminent scholars of Europe*. And, lastly, there were deputies from Scotland. Such was the composition of the Assembly by which the Church of England was to be remodelled. The divines were by so much the more numerous that they out-voted and over-rode the rest. But there was no perfect agreement among them even on principal points. There were some who held that the episcopal order existed *jure divino*, and that there

* We have few instances of men appearing *out of place* so striking as Selden in the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. It is "Saul among the Prophets;" and what execution we may conceive the sword of Saul might have done among the long-stoled prophets, that the wit and learning of Selden did among the gowned Puritans with whom he was associated. He delighted to tease and perplex, but he attempted to carry nothing; and it seems as if his end were not anything more than to dazzle and confound. How unlike he must have been to all his associates appears plainly in his *Table Talk*, a work the genuineness of which cannot be doubted. It is plain that he thought it the part of true wisdom to keep down as much as possible the excitement which so often arises from diversity of opinion in respect of religious ministrations;—a good principle, though it may be carried too far. See particularly what he says on "*Scrutamini Scripturas*," and the whole article entitled 'Religion.'

could be no true Christian and Apostolic Church without it; but these soon ceased to attend. There were a few who opposed themselves to any national union in a church. But the larger portion of the English divines and the deputies from Scotland were Presbyterian, still contending for a National Church, but that the Church should be constituted in the Presbyterian form, without bishops, having no order superior to presbyters.

The establishment of such a National Church as this was the main object of those persons who looked beyond the mere destructive. Indeed the persons in the Assembly were very few who did not look to some national union and general consent, though they might differ respecting the foundation of it, and the principles on which it should be constructed. In one thing the majority agreed, that greater liberty should be allowed to the ministers, and greater power of interference in affairs ecclesiastical be given to the laity. In general terms, as the political state, so the ecclesiastical state was to become more republican. They did not therefore stop at the abolition of the Church as constituted with the episcopal order, but they set themselves to raise, if possible, a Presbyterian Church in its place.

The frame of the proposed church was this:—Wherever there was an established congregation with a pastor, whether in a church to which tithe of common right belonged, or one in which a vicar was established, or a mere chapel to which no tithe belonged, persons called *Ruling Elders* were to be chosen by the votes of the congregation, whose duty it was to assist the pastor or minister by their information, advice, and service, and to exercise a superintendence over all the other persons composing the congregation. These formed the *Congregational Eldership*. The minister and some of the more discreet of the ruling elders in districts containing about twenty or thirty congregations were to meet once a month as a *Classical Presbytery*; the number of elders sent by each congregation not to be more than four, nor

less than two. One of the ministers was to act as moderator or chairman. Great power was to be given to these presbyteries. They might redress any abuse of any kind that could be construed into an offence against ecclesiastical discipline. They were the examiners of persons who were candidates for the ministry, and with them it lay to give or refuse ordination. An appeal, however, lay from them to the *Provincial Assembly*, which was to meet twice a-year, and to consist of two ministers and four ruling elders sent from each Classical Presbytery in the province. Above all was to be a *National Assembly*, composed of two ministers and four ruling elders sent from each Provincial Assembly, together with five learned and godly persons from each of the Universities. This was to be the court of final appeal, but it could meet only when summoned by parliament.

Such was the frame of the Presbyterian Church of England which the Puritans would have established.

It was a part of the duty of the Congregational Elderships to inquire into the religious knowledge and spiritual estate of any member of the congregation, and to admonish, suspend from the Lord's table, and even to excommunicate those whom they deemed ignorant or scandalous. The Classical Presbyteries were to determine cases of conscience, and to remove difficulties in respect of doctrine; to endeavour the conversion of schismatics and popish recusants; to take cognizance of cases of simony or irregular entrance on the ministerial office, of affected lightness and vanity in preaching, of non-residence, of non-compliance with the Directory, and other ministerial irregularities. They interposed in the affairs of particular congregations if the eldership appeared to neglect its duty, and they censured ministers who were scandalous in life or doctrine. In respect of the exercise of their duty of ordination, they were to examine the qualifications of candidates, to see that they brought proper certificates of unblameable life, diligence

and proficiency in their studies, of the time spent in the Universities, the degrees taken there, that they were of the age of four-and-twenty, and that they had taken the solemn league and covenant.

The Presbyterian Church of England existed however only as a parliamentary project. The national assembly was never convoked; nor could it be, for there was hardly a provincial assembly in the country from whom deputies were to come to form it, and in few places had the people proceeded even so far as to establish Congregational Elderships or Classical Presbyteries.

The cause of this backwardness in conforming to the ordinance of parliament by which this frame of a National Church was sanctioned may be seen in part in the unpreparedness of many portions of the kingdom for so great a change, where very zealous ministers had not been stationed; and in part in obvious inconveniences of the system itself in some of its most important points. Persons, not irreligious, may naturally have been reluctant to raise to the authority of a ruling elder some of their honest neighbours, who having never before aspired to anything higher than a constable, might reasonably be supposed not to know very well how to use the power with which an elder was to be invested; and it must have been perceived from the beginning by any reflecting person that there could be no uniformity in the judgments of such bodies as the Classical Presbyteries or Provincial Assemblies, who were without law or precedent to guide them, and that therefore the rule of government must have been uncertain and often vexatious. It must also have been perceived that the harmony of the parishes would be in great danger of frequent interruption, for it could not be supposed that a suspended or excommunicated member would always be satisfied with the sentence pronounced upon him, or that the lives of ruling elders could always bear the strict scrutiny of jealous and offended neighbours. Besides this, there was a large body of persons devoted in heart to

the old system who greatly preferred the public service in the manner of the English Liturgy to the prayers of the Puritan ministers by whom the pulpits were filled, and who, though depressed as they then were, would lend no hand in the parishes to the establishment of the Presbyterian discipline.

But the main cause of the immediate failure of the project was the rise of a principle, which if it must not be called *new*, at this period first became prominent in England. The principle I mean is *Independency*.

The fundamental principle of *Independency* is this:— That it was not the intention of the founders of Christianity that all who should take upon themselves the Christian name should form one vast society, **THE CHURCH**, united together under one Head;—a majestic and splendid idea: or that each nation or political community should form themselves into such a society under a particular Head, so as to form a National Church:— but that wherever there was a congregation of persons, be it large or be it small, who had united themselves together for Christian purposes and had a regularly-appointed pastor and deacons, there was a true Christian Church, without any union, connection, or dependency on or with any other similar community, except such as might be agreed upon for purposes of friendly communication or spiritual assistance and advice. The call of such a congregation of any person to the office of pastor was regarded by them as to all intents and purposes the investing of such person with the sacred character of minister, without any ordination by bishop or any body of presbyters; though other ministers might be called in to witness the choice which they had made, and to beg the Divine blessing on the connexion into which they were about to enter. It was also a part of the system to allow of the preaching of “gifted brethren.”

This was one of the various opinions which appeared in England as soon as men were invited to “Search the Scriptures” rather than to “Hear the Church.” One

Robert Brown, a minister in Northamptonshire, of a good and ancient family in the midland parts of England, was a zealous assertor of the principle in the reign of Elizabeth, and suffered much on that account; whence it was that persons of this opinion were sometimes called Brownists. The opinion was not without its supporters in the reigns of the two first Stuarts. The holders of this opinion were a species under the genus Puritan, for they had all the scruples and the strictness of that body. They were considered extreme by both parties in the Church. They were disliked both by the Episcopalians and Presbyterians as holding principles which tended to religious and political disintegration. A considerable portion of the harsh treatment to which the Puritans were subject fell upon them; but they had not suffered so much as a body distinct from the Puritans at large to raise them into any particular notice. Many of them removed to New England, in which country the opinion prevailed to a greater extent than at home.

Five ministers, all University-men, of these opinions, or opinions near-allied to them, left England in or about 1632, and settled themselves in Holland, where was a universal toleration even at that early period. Their names were Goodwin, Nye, Bridge, Simpson, and Burroughs. Other persons accompanied them, and they had English congregations formed on their principles at Rotterdam and Arnheim. When the Parliament had resolved on granting liberty to the ministers and altering the constitution of the Church, these men returned to England and became members of the Assembly. They formed there a compact and steady minority; agreeing with the rest in every thing that tended to destruction, but dividing against them when the object was to raise another National Church in place of the Episcopal Church which was destroyed. The word Dissenter, in its technical sense, was first applied to these men. They were so constantly opposed to the will of the majority, that they were known in the Assembly by the name of The Dissenting Brethren. This was about 1643.

In the Assembly they could carry nothing. There the whole power was with the Presbyterians. But they set themselves to work upon the people at large; and, by means of zealous preaching and of the circulation of pamphlets, they soon brought over many to their opinions, and in London and in country parishes congregations began to be formed of persons who left their parish-churches, forming themselves into independent societies, with deacons and a pastor of their own choosing. These societies were called by the name of Gathered Churches. A few of the old dissenting congregations still existing originated at this period, and in this manner.

There are few instances of success rapidly following on the promulgation of a new opinion so remarkable as this. But its success was favoured by the then state of the nation, where was a powerful party contending for greater freedom, both political and ecclesiastical; and this system seemed to promise the highest conceivable ecclesiastical freedom consistent with the maintenance of any degree of Christian union. In particular, it made its way in the army. At the first the great captains were Presbyterians; but in a little while they were superseded by officers who were zealous Independents, and it went on strengthening itself there till the whole power of the army was bent in that direction. Thus before seven years had passed from the time when Episcopacy was abolished, the sounder and more enlightened part of the Puritan body found itself reduced to political insignificance: the King was put to death before their eyes, some of the most eminent persons belonging to them were forcibly driven from their places in parliament, and the whole power of the state had passed into the possession of a party whose leading principle in ecclesiastics was as opposite to theirs, as was the principle of Episcopacy itself.

Thus it seems ever to be in political movements. They are begun by men well-intentioned, earnest, and honest; an established order of things which they meant to improve is overturned and destroyed; and there arises

not that beautiful fabric which they in their imaginations had contemplated, but some unsightly building, full of strange and unclean beasts who find warmth and shelter in its precincts, and who not unfrequently sally forth to tread down and rend to pieces those well-meaning men who gave them their power to do so. And this it is which makes wise and good men pause before they engage in efforts to amend an existing system, while they wish to see it improved; through a fear which constant experience shows to be most reasonable, that they will but open the way for something in which there is far more of evil, and be themselves the first to be destroyed. We shall soon see what Mr. Heywood himself thought of the consequences which ensued on the success of his own party.

When the principle of Independency extensively prevailed and was supported by the power of the sword, it is manifest that nothing could be done effectually towards executing the project of a Presbyterian Church.

The principle itself was obnoxious to the Presbyterians; but it became much more so when it was perceived how it made way for the prevalence of all kinds of wild opinions and eccentric practices in religion. This necessarily followed on the encouragement which they gave to lay-preaching. It was out of Independency that there sprang the numerous sects which are the reproach of that period and of Puritanism itself,—the Sabbatarians, Millenarians, Grindletonians, Muggletonians, Fifth Monarchists, Ranters, Seekers, Quakers, Anabaptists, with many others more short-lived than these, and yet of these only the Anabaptists and the Quakers have had any continued existence. That they did not continue longer was owing to the subsidence of the religious excitement, and the recovery of the good sense of the English people: but they existed long enough to be a dreadful annoyance to the sober Puritan, and to involve him at last in a common calamity with them.

Most of the sects had made their appearance and the

ministers were making their way into the national edifices appropriated for the meeting of Christians for worship, and the religious anarchy of the next ten years was beginning, when Mr. Heywood left Cambridge, in 1650.

In no part of the kingdom was equal progress made in establishing Presbyterianism as in Lancashire. There the system was actually carried out to its fullest extent, except that there was no opportunity of sending deputies to a national assembly. Congregational Elderships were appointed, Classical Presbyteries also, and the Provincial Assembly was constituted, which met at Preston. There were among the ministers of the time in Lancashire many able and zealous men who exerted themselves to bring this about, the principal of whom were Mr. Heyrick and Mr. Hollingworth, of Manchester, Mr. Angier, of Denton, Mr. Tildesley, of Dean, Mr. Harrison, of Ashton, Mr. Ambrose, of Preston, and who supported the dignity of the system by their own gravity, ability, and general personal character. The ordinance of Parliament by which the county of Lancaster was thrown into the form of a province of a Presbyterian Church bears date October 2, 1646. The Presbyteries were nine; and they were denominated from the principal towns in the district;—Manchester, Bolton, Blackburn, Warrington, Walton, Croston, Preston, Lancaster, and Aldingham. In the Manchester Presbytery, the parishes of Manchester, Prestwich, Oldham, Flixton, Eccles, and Ashton were included: in that of Bolton, Bolton, Middleton, Bury, Rochdale, Dean, and Radcliffe. It will be remembered that some of these were large parishes, having many chapels*.

The ordinance was passed in accordance with a petition from the county, which was subscribed by 12,578 persons, no inconsiderable proportion of the whole Protestant population. The Presbyterians were the more desirous of the establishment of the system in conse-

* I subjoin a list of the persons who formed the first Classical Presbyteries of Manchester and Bolton, taken from the Ordinance

quence of the appearance in Lancashire of the Independent principle, and the controversy which arose upon

of Parliament. They show who were the more zealous Presbyterians of the time in Mr. Heywood's own county.

MANCHESTER CLASSIS.

Ministers.

Mr. Richard Heyrick, and	William Booth, of Reddish, gent.
Mr. Richard Hollingworth, of Manchester.	John Gaskel, of Manchester, gent.
Mr. John Angier, of Denton.	Edw. Sandiforth, of Oldham, gent.
Mr. William Walker, of Newton.	John Birch, of Openshaw, gent.
Mr. Toby Furnes, of Prestwich.	Thos. Smith, of Manchester, gent.
Mr. Humph. Barnet, of Oldham.	Peter Serjeant, of Pilkington, gent.
Mr. John Jones, of Eccles.	Rob. Leech, of Ashton parish, gent.
Mr. John Harrison, of Ashton.	John Wright, of Bradford, yeoman.
	Wm. Peak, of Worsley, yeoman.
	Thomas Taylor, of Flixton parish, yeoman.

Laymen.

Robert Hyde, of Denton, esq.	Thomas Barlow, of Eccles parish, yeoman.
Rich. Howarth, of Manchester, esq.	Peter Seddon, of Pilkington, yeoman.
Robert Ashton, of Shipley, esq.	James Jollie, of Droilsden, gent.
Thos. Strangways, of Gorton, esq.	

BOLTON CLASSIS.

Ministers.

Mr. John Harpur of Bolton.	Thomas Eccarsal, of Bury, gent.
Mr. William Ashton, of Middleton.	Edward Butterworth, of Belfield, esq.
Mr. William Alte.	John Scolfield, of Castleton, yeo- man.
Mr. Andrew Latham.	Emanuel Thompson, of Rochdale, clothier.
Mr. Jonathan Scolfield, of Bury.	Sam. Wylde, of Rochdale, mercer.
Mr. Robert Bathe, of Rochdale.	James Stot, of Healey, gent.
Mr. Alexander Horrocks,	Robert Pares, of Rochdale, gent.
Mr. John Tildesley.	Rob. Worthington, of Smithel, esq.
Mr. James Walton, of Dean.	Giles Green, of West Houghton, yeoman.
Mr. Thomas Pyke, of Radcliffe.	

Laymen.

Ralph Ashton, of Middleton, esq.	Henry Molyneux, of West Houghton, gent.
John Bradshaw, of Bradshaw, esq.	Hen. Seddon, of Heaton, yeoman.
Edm. Hopwood, of Hopwood, esq.	Robert Hardman of Radcliffe, yeoman.
Robert Lever, of Darcy Lever, esq.	John Bradshaw, of Darcy Lever, gent.
John Andrews, of Little Lever, gent.	Richard Dickenson, of Aynsworth, yeoman.
Rob. Heywood, of Heywood, gent.	
Peter Holt, of Heap, gent.	
Arthur Smethurst, of Heap, gent.	

it. The controversy originated with Mr. Samuel Eaton, who returned to England at the beginning of the war from New England, whither he had gone and where he had imbibed or become strengthened in the principle of Independency. On his return he settled at Duckinfield, in the Cheshire parish of Stockport, but near the confines of the parish of Manchester. There he had a gathered church. He was very zealous for his Independent principles, and was supported by a few of the neighbouring ministers, particularly Mr. Root and Mr. Timothy Taylor. There were persons favouring these opinions in Manchester even as early as 1649. Hollingworth tells us that a small Independent Church was founded which met in a room at the College*. In 1651 there were two regularly formed Independent congregations in Lancashire; that at Walmesley, of which Mr. Michael Briscoe was the pastor; and that at Altham, of which the pastor was Thomas Jollie, Mr. Heywood's friend at Cambridge, who had fallen very early into these opinions.

The chief administration of religious affairs in this county was, however, during the whole succeeding period till the return of the king, in the hands of the Presbyterians, a completely organized body. There was nothing approaching to it in completeness in any other part of the kingdom; and it is perhaps to these twelve years in which the party acted on the basis of an Ordinance of Parliament which gave a legalized sanction to their proceedings, and in fact incorporated them with the general polity of the Commonwealth, that we are to attribute the bolder front which Presbyterianism has ever put on in Lancashire than in any other part of the kingdom, and the preservation to our own times of so much greater a proportion of the Presbyterian congregations formed when Presbyterianism had become non-conformity.

The book of the Proceedings of the Manchester

* *Mancuniensis*, a MS. in the Cheetham Library, printed in 12mo. 1839. p. 122.

Classis has been preserved, a public, authentic, and important record, in one sense a national record, the Classis having been a body which arose in the public polity of the times, and which rested on the sound basis of the law of the land. Much use is made of it, and much information from other sources, on these matters, is to be found, in 'The History of the Collegiate Church of Manchester,' by Dr. Hibbert, an excellent work, to which we have already had occasion to refer.

Of the working of the system in the parishes, the following narrative by Mr. Heywood of what happened between his father and the Congregational Eldership at Bolton affords an instructive exposition:—

“ In the year 1647, or thereabouts, the Presbyterian government being settled at Bolton, the ministers, Mr. John Harpur and Mr. Richard Goodwin, together with the Eldership, made an order, after an examination and approbation of the communicants, that every time they were to come to the Lord's Supper, every particular communicant should, upon the Friday before, fetch a little ticket, as they called it, of lead, of the elders, and show it to the elders again in the church before they were to receive the Sacrament, that they might know that none but such as were admitted did intrude themselves. The elders also took them of them at that time, and they were to fetch them against the next. Now my father together with several other able Christians in the congregation were unwilling to submit to this practice, partly because they looked upon it as an innovation and a snare, partly because it was cumbersome to the communicants, partly because it was an uncertain means to attain the end, as experience testified; partly, also, because no other churches in the country had any such practice. These and such like reasons he exhibited to the Eldership in writing, and in his own practice refused to fetch or show any such ticket when he came to the Sacrament. Whereupon they sent for him, summoned him to appear before them. He came, and many

disputes they had. They admonished him, and when he was still resolute, persisting still in his schism, as they pleased to call it, they suspended him from the Lord's Supper. But that was not sufficient, for, as I remember, they did also excommunicate him for contempt, because, as they said, he laughed them to scorn; for having naturally a smiling countenance it may be he might sometimes smile in his discourse with them. However, he would not submit himself upon their admonition, nor acknowledge that he had done wrong; therefore they proceeded. My dear mother would have had him to have yielded for peace sake: the rest, old Robert Crompton, Roger Roscow, and others, though approving what he did and encouraging him, yet held off, and would not appear, so that he was alone in the controversy. Being in this strait, shut out from communion with them, he appealed to the Classical Meeting of Ministers and Elders. There it was debated a considerable time, and though the Classis were unsatisfied in the proceedings of the Eldership of Bolton against my father, yet they were loth to censure them, only desired them to pass it by and admit him to the Supper. But when they trifled about it, and did nothing, my father made an appeal from the Classical Presbytery at Bury to the Provincial Assembly at Preston, and after the business had been debated there, they made an order that the Congregational Eldership at Bolton should revoke their sentence of suspension of my father from the Lord's Supper, admit him again into fellowship with them; exhorting both sides to a mutual accommodation; and, as I remember, the tickets, the occasion of this contention, were by this time laid aside. When this came to the ministers and elders of Bolton church, they something stickled at his restoration without his submission. However they were bound to obey the order of the Provincial Assembly, and at last framed a paper which was read in the church, wherein they freed Richard Heywood from his suspension; but withall made some hints therein as though he had submitted him-

self, which he did not, and so it was not at all satisfactory to him, and I think he never joined with them in the Lord's Supper afterwards, but was entertained at Cockey and all places about. This is, in short, an account of that troublesome business, which was afoot just at that time when I was at Cambridge; and I remember, when I came into the country in the latter end of 1648, I writ much for him, which was in way of reply to the Eldership of Bolton, and some appeals which I have now forgot: but the controversy was hot, begot much bad blood, many animosities amongst good people in the society, some taking one side, others another, so that it became a very heavy burthen to the spirit of my dear mother, who was all for love and peace, and was willing to have yielded to any thing rather than to have contended: but he stood upon his own integrity, which he often said he would not remove as long as he lived, quoting that of Job xxvii. 2—6. But however it was a great affliction to him, which yet he bore with invincible courage and magnanimity, and was not daunted with anything."

This is a very extraordinary narrative, and the reflections which it suggests are not of a nature very favourable to the system which was to supersede the ancient arrangements of the Anglican Church. Vehement had been the outcry when spiritual authority had interposed to remove a person guilty of irregularities from Christian communion; but when done it had not been done without inquiry by persons wholly devoid of personal interest in the question, and when the most cultivated and intelligent minds were brought to the investigation of the facts and the application of the principles of law and ancient precedent. But here the step was ventured upon by a little knot of a man's familiar acquaintance, men with whom the ordinary businesses of life had brought him into frequent communication, and who must in some cases have been either personal friends or rivals, or perhaps enemies. And this strange and novel tribunal proceeds to pass the severe sentence of excommunication, and on an occasion

so trivial and so foolish, that it is difficult not to look upon the whole affair with a feeling approaching to contempt for the people who could waste time and patience on any thing so exceedingly worthless. At the same time it must be allowed that the Eldership had an impracticable person to deal with: but then impracticable persons it ought to have been expected would be found, and they are not the least frequently found in combinations for purposes of religion: and a system must be defective which allows one such person to outbrave the authorities, and embroil a whole parish in heart-burnings and disputes about a subject in itself so trivial. On the whole, it appears that no arrangement could be framed for the government of a church to which such a person as Mr. Richard Heywood would not have been a dissatisfied opponent; and we may see in this narrative that the more sober and quiet part of the parishioners of Bolton would begin to think that little was gained by the change from Episcopacy to Presbyterianism, which they had so earnestly solicited.

Mr. Heywood's entrance on the ministry illustrates the state of anarchy to which ecclesiastical affairs in England were at that time reduced.

When he returned from Cambridge to Lancashire he had more than completed his twentieth year. But he wanted eight or nine months of being twenty-one, while twenty-four was the age at which, according to the Presbyterian project, a person might enter the ministry to undertake the office of pastor. It was his own intention and desire to join the family of some older minister, that he might become better acquainted with the duties of the pastoral office; and the family entered into negotiation with Mr. Angier of Denton to receive him for that purpose into his house. These negotiations were not conducted to any successful issue; and the summer of 1650 was spent by Mr. Heywood with his father at Little Lever, or in visits to distant friends.

On one of those visits he first began to preach. He

was at an obscure place, the name of which he has not mentioned, beyond Preston; and having there made a beginning, he was easily prevailed upon to undertake the same work in the churches of Carlton and Skip-ton, when visiting his sister, Mrs. Whitehead, who resided at Bent-hall, in Lothersdale in Craven.

Very soon after this he became settled as the minister and pastor of a rural flock. The place was Coley, one of the chapels of the parish of Halifax, in Yorkshire, a parish of great extent lying on the Lancashire border, Coley being thirty or forty wearisome miles from Bolton. This was the most important step in the life of Mr. Heywood, for Coley continued from that time to be the place of his abode and the principal scene of his labours for the remainder of his life.

His settlement there may be said to have been quite accidental.

His uncle, Francis Critchlaw, was acquainted with a family at Coley, and paying them a visit found the people without a minister, Mr. Cudworth having lately left them. He told them of Mr. Heywood, who was not entirely unknown to one or two persons among them. Instead of the appointment to these chapels being vested as it now is in the vicar of Halifax, who resides amidst his clergy and people more like the bishop of a little diocese than the vicar of a country parish, the inhabitants of the chapelry chose the minister. Indeed there was then no vicar of Halifax, the church of Halifax being reduced to the same rank with the chapels that had been dependent upon it, and having its particular minister, as the several chapels had theirs. The people of Coley sent "two ancient godly men" to Little Lever to invite Mr. Heywood to Coley. One of them was Luke Hoyle, whose name has occurred before. Mr. Heywood returned with them, and conducted the service at the chapel on the succeeding Sunday. So great was the satisfaction which the young preacher gave, that the people flocked about him when the service was over,

earnestly entreating that he would remain with them. All they could obtain was a promise that he would return to them on another Sunday; but he thought at that time so little of any settlement at Coley that he took a journey to Wrexham to visit his relative who resided there. Another minister appeared in the meantime at Coley, a Mr. Hargreaves, whose stay among them was desired by some of the parishioners. Others however looked impatiently for Mr. Heywood's return. On his second visit they were more importunate, and the desire of his settling with them appearing to be general, he consented to accept their call.

Such were the circumstances under which he came to Coley. The date of his first visit is Michaelmas, 1650. On the 26th of November following, the terms of his engagement were settled at Halifax. The income was to be 10*l.* from the lands belonging to the chapel, and 20*l.* from the contributions of the people. He reserved to himself the right of retiring at the expiration of six months.

Thus unordained, and not yet twenty-one, he became a pastor of one of the old national congregations. It does not appear that any other minister was concerned in the arrangement; it was an affair between himself and the people of Coley. Yet his beginning to preach at that early age, and even to take the charge of a congregation, was not without the sanction of his friends in the ministry, for Mr. Tildesley would gladly have retained him in Lancashire and placed him in the chapel of Haughton, then vacant by the death of Mr. Horrocks.

In some private memoranda written many years after, he declares that he had never seen reason to repent of the step which he took at this most critical period of a minister's life.

CHAPTER V.

THE PARISH OF HALIFAX.—COLEY CHAPEL.—CHARACTER OF THE PARISH BY DR. FAVOUR, JAMES RITHER, AND DR. WHITAKER.—THE LECTURE THERE.—VICARS.—MINISTERS DURING THE COMMONWEALTH.—MINISTERS IN THE SEVERAL CHAPELS AT THE TIME OF MR. HEYWOOD'S SETTLEMENT AT COLEY.—MR. HEYWOOD'S PREDECESSORS AT COLEY.—FAMILIES AT COLEY.—THE SUNDERLANDS.—CAPTAIN HODGSON.—SIR THOMAS BROWNE, LATELY AN INHABITANT OF THE PARISH.—THE BESTS.—NATHANIEL HEYWOOD SETTLES AT ILLINGWORTH.—HE AND HIS BROTHER LIVE TOGETHER.—MARRIAGE WITH ELIZABETH ANGIER.—NOTICE OF HER FATHER.—HER DEATH.—THE DEATH OF MR. HEYWOOD'S MOTHER.

RIGHTLY to understand Mr. Heywood's position, it must be remembered that many of the parishes in the north are of great extent, very different in this respect from the parishes in the south of England, and are consequently broken up into parochial chapelries. It has been ascertained that the area of the parish of Halifax is not less than one hundred and twenty-four miles. The mother-church is in the town of Halifax, and there are two chapels situated at Elland and Heptonstall which were probably founded about the same time with the parish church, and when this large district of mountain and forest land was first separated from some still more extensive parish and given a spiritual superintendent of its own. This may be referred to the reign of king Henry the First. From that time to the Reformation eight other edifices had arisen in various parts of the parish, works of ancient piety, in which religious services were performed. Two others arose in the interval between the Reformation and the triumph of Puritanism. These works brought the offices of religion home to those inhabitants of this wide parish, who living far

remote from their parish church, and where the natural features of the country rendered access difficult, and in some seasons impossible, could without them have had but few opportunities of joining in the offices of religion.

These twelve chapels had such endowment as the zeal or ability of their founders could afford them. With the great ecclesiastical revenue arising in the parish they had nothing to do. The whole of this had been assigned over at the time of the foundation of the parish to the monastery of Lewes in Sussex, who took the revenues for the support of their house, making, however, out of them a liberal allowance to the vicar, who had to perform the duties for which this revenue was the proper but far more than sufficient compensation.

Coley chapel was one of the twelve chapels of which I have spoken. It stands, or rather the new building which has superseded the old chapel in which Mr. Heywood officiated and is on the same site, in the township of Hipperholm. It is on high ground, and its white walls are conspicuous to the traveller for many miles of his journey between the two neighbouring towns of Halifax and Bradford. In the same township, and at a little distance from Coley chapel, is the chapel of Lightcliffe. Both these chapels were erected at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and Mr. Heywood has preserved a tradition, current in his time, that the foundation of them was an act of piety of two maidens, sisters, who lived at Priestley Green in the neighbourhood. Mr. Heywood, full of Puritan prejudice, says it was a good work, "though it might be done in superstition." No doubt it was a good and pious work, highly beneficial to a country, the inhabitants of which had to ascend one precipice and to descend two others whenever they had occasion to resort to their parish church.

Coley chapel was erected for the benefit of the people inhabiting in Shelf, Northouram, and part of Hipperholm. There is a village of Northouram, but the rural

population of the parish of Halifax live for the most part dispersed in single houses, or in very small collections of houses, so small as not to attain even to the character of hamlet. There is no village of Coley; but near the chapel was a house called Coley Hall, which had been the residence of the chief family of the chapelry.

The whole parish, lying on the eastern declivity of the English Apennines, and extending westward to the highest point where the waters spring which flow to the great estuaries on the east and west sides of the island, has all the characteristics of mountainous regions :

“ Terra mala et sterilis, dumetis obsita, saxis
Horrida, quæ nullis inventa est frugibus apta ;
Sed bona gens, populus sanctus, pietatis et ardens.”

Such is the description of the parish by, it is believed, Dr. Favour, one of its early Protestant vicars, carved in stone on the free-school. Yet there appears to have been more than the usual amount of ferocity in the inhabitants of these mountainous and forest regions. One of the chapels, before the Reformation, was polluted by the shedding of human blood; and one of the vicars, Dr. Holdsworth, who built that part of the church called Holdsworth's works, a very unpopular man, was murdered in the vicarage-house in the reign of Queen Mary. The savage custom of the forest, which allowed execution by beheading to be done in a summary way on offenders convicted of crimes of no particular enormity, must have tended to brutalize the population. Seventeen persons, of whom four were women, were thus savagely butchered in the twenty-seven years before Mr. Heywood became a resident of the parish. Two persons had been beheaded in the spring of the year in which he settled at Coley. They were, however, the last.

A country like this, abounding in coal and mountain streams, is favourable to manufactures; and the inhabitants have been, from a remote period, engaged in the making of cloth as much as in tilling the ground.

The following description of the place and its inhabitants, from the pen of a Yorkshire esquire of the reign of Elizabeth, has never been quoted, and is curious, if for nothing else, for the singular remark with which it concludes :—

“ These inhabitants of Halifax are planted among our most strong and barren mountains west from York, somewhat upon the south in the edge of Lancashire. These excel the rest in policy and industry for the use of their trade and grounds ; and after the rude and arrogant manner of their wild country they surpass the rest in wisdom and wealth. They despise their old fashions if they can hear of a new more commodious ; rather affecting novelties than affied to old ceremonies ; only the ancient custom of beheading such as are apprehended for theft, without trial after the course of law, they are driven by the same need and necessity to continue, that enforced them to take it up at the first ; otherwise their trade in that wild place could not have been. It should seem that desire of praise and sweetness of their due commendation hath begun and maintained among these people a natural ardency of new inventions annexed to an unyielding industry in their faculty of cloth, and by enforcing grounds, beyond all hope, to fertility ; so that if the rest of the county would in this follow them but afar off, the force and wealth of Yorkshire would be soon doubled. In one instance, see but the very shambles of their town ; it is incredible how far the town of Halifax excels York in uttering much and good meat. These people were with the first well affected to religion, so that in the beginning of Her Majesty’s most happy reign, if not since, it was hard for a minister, elsewhere in the county, of honest life and parentage, to fetch a wife.”

This may be compared with what an acute but too severe observer says of the same people at the beginning of the present century :—“ A tincture of early Puritanism yet continues to appear in the manners and the Christian

names of the people ; and perhaps there is not a parish in the kingdom where Old Testament names have so nearly superseded those of the New*. In the remoter parts of the parish, and particularly on the confines of Lancashire, where old families, the great correctors of barbarism, either have never existed or have been long extinct, the state of manners and morals is perhaps more degraded than in any part of the island. Ignorant and savage, yet cunning and attentive to their own interests, under few restraints from law, and still fewer from conscience, it is a singular phænomenon that almost all the people are, under one denomination or other, religionists ; a striking instance, I will not say of the tendency of separation to produce immorality, but of the inefficacy of multiplied and discordant modes of worship to correct it. In fact, as far as evidence can be collected on the subject, they were neither better nor worse before the Reformation ; they were no better when all were nominally members of the Church of England †.”

The picture is overcharged, and I shall quote no more, except a very short passage, on account of its exact accordance with what James Rither, whose curious memorial was unknown to Dr. Whitaker, had observed long before :—“ They have no superior to court, no civilities to practise ; a sour and sturdy humour is the consequence ; so that a stranger is shocked by a tone of defiance in every voice, and an air of fierceness in every countenance.”

As at Manchester, so at Halifax, a lecture had been established in the church in the early part of the reign of Elizabeth, to the good effects of which archbishop Grindall thus appeals when objections began to be taken

* Old Testament names are rarely found at Halifax before the Reformation. Of eighty-six names of persons of this parish which were affixed to a memorial in the reign of Henry the Eighth, there is not one derived from the Jewish Scriptures.

† *Loidis and Elmete*, by the Rev. T. D. Whitaker, LL.D., folio, 1816, pp. 371, 372.

at court against this mode of working upon the people by persons who foresaw the certain consequence of doing so in the rise of Protestant disaffection :—

“ What bred the rebellion in the north? Was it not papistry and the ignorance of God’s holy word, and through want of preaching? And in the times of that rebellion, were not all men of all estates that made profession of the Gospel most ready to offer their lives for your defence? Insomuch that one poor parish in Yorkshire, which by continual preaching had been better instructed than the rest, Halifax I mean, was ready to bring three or four thousand men into the field to serve against the said rebels. How can Your Majesty have a more lively trial and experience of the contrary effects of much preaching and little or no preaching, the one working most unnatural disobedience and rebellion, the other most faithful obedience?”

This passage Mr. Heywood found in the epistle dedicatory before Mr. Greenhill’s second part of his ‘Exposition on Ezekiel*,’ and treasured it up in his papers.

These lectures appear to have been discontinued and to have had a new beginning about 1620. We find the following in Mr. Heywood’s notes :—“ All those times, for thirty years together and upwards, there was a famous exercise maintained every month at Halifax, whereat not only neighbour ministers preached in their turns, but strangers far and near were sent for to preach it; two sermons a-day, being the last Wednesday in the month; multitudes of hearers. It’s said this exercise was maintained in Dr. Favour’s days, who was a great friend to Non-Conformists, maintained two famous men as lecturers at Halifax, whom he shrouded under his authority and interest with the bishop, namely, Mr. Boys, banished out of Kent for his Non-Conformity, a choice man, very laborious in the work of the Lord, catechized

* The passage has been often quoted. See Stryce, *Life of Grindall*, 8vo, 1821, p. 459; and Watson, *History of Halifax*, 4to, 1775, p. 366.

all the poor, expounded to them in the church one day in the week, gave them money; I have his catechism which he taught them: and Mr. Barlow, that writ upon Timothy, a choice man, who had been shrouded under Dr. Favour." When Dr. Favour died and Dr. Clay came in, he removed, Mr Heywood thought, to Plymouth. Mr. Ault afterwards was lecturer, who removed to Bury, in Lancashire.

Dr. Richard Holdsworth, who held the living at the Reformation, adhered to it in all the changes of the times; and his successors, the early Protestant vicars of Halifax, had short incumbencies, and were in no respect distinguished men, till we come to Dr. Favour, who was instituted to the vicarage in 1598, and held the living till his death in 1623. He was a very active and influential churchman both in and out of his parish. There is a quarto work of his of six hundred pages, printed in 1619, which he entitled 'Antiquity triumphing over Novelty.' The design of this work is to refute the pretensions of the Romanists to the prescriptive claim from antiquity, by showing that the points against which the Protestants chiefly objected were of late introduction into the church. His successor, Dr. Clay, was a man of a different character. Then came the two Ramsdens, brothers, both of them apparently valuable men; and after them Dr. Richard Marsh, who was Dean of York and had other preferment, one of the incumbents in Yorkshire who were removed from their cures as soon as the Parliament entered on the work of Church-Reformation, under the notion of being "ignorant and scandalous," or non-resident. Dr. Marsh lived to return and claim possession of his church. In the interval there were five ministers in succession at Halifax put in by the Puritan authorities; namely, Mr. Waite, who removed to Gargrave; Mr. Root, the Independent, who removed to the chapel in Sowerby, and was a Non-Conformist under the Act of Uniformity; Mr. Lake, who conformed under the Act and became at length Bishop of Chichester, and one

of the Seven Bishops in the reign of James the Second ; finally, he refused to take the oaths to king William*. After them came Mr. Robert Booth, who was the minister at Halifax when Mr. Heywood settled at Coley, “an excellent scholar, good preacher, a man of unblamable life.” This is the character given of him by Mr. Heywood, and it agrees with the more florid encomium bestowed upon him by Dr. Midgely†. Eli Bentley, Mr. Heywood’s friend at Cambridge, whom he left there, and who became a fellow of Trinity College, came to assist Mr. Booth in 1652, and succeeded him on his death in 1657. He was the minister at Halifax when the return of the king brought back also Dr. Marsh to claim the church from which he had been removed.

The ministers whom Mr. Heywood found in the chapels of the parish were Mr. Root, the Independent, at Sowerby ; Mr. Milner, at Sowerby-bridge, who long after succeeded Dr. Lake in the vicarage of Leeds, and, like him, refused to take the oaths to king William ; at Ripponden was “old Mr. Allen, who had been parson of Prestwich, a solid substantial preacher, who had been turned out in the war-time for not taking the Covenant ; he found shelter there ; they loved him well ; allowed him a competent maintenance ; frequently preached to them at Halifax Exercise : when the king came in in 1660, he was restored to Prestwich ; lived and died there.” So far we have one Independent and two sound Episcopalians. At Elland were ministers of a still different character : “old Mr. Robert Town, the famous Antinomian, who writ some books ; he was the best scholar and

* Bishop Lake was a native of the parish of Halifax, one of the many persons born in that parish in the first half of the seventeenth century who were sent to the Universities and became ministers. He preached his first sermon in his office at Halifax, July 26, 1647. He removed in 1649 to Oldham, in Lancashire, where he proved a very troublesome person to the Presbyterian Classis at Manchester. In 1660 he became vicar of Leeds.

† *Hallifax and its Gibbet Law placed in a true light.* 12mo. 1708. p. 81.

soberest man of that judgment in the country, but something unsound in principles." At Illingworth Mr. Clarkson, "a good substantial preacher," who removed into Durham. At Luddenden Mr. Fairbank, "a solid preacher, but too much given to his cups." Of the ministers at Heptonstall and Croston, the places being remote from Coley, Mr. Heywood knew less; but Antinomian principles were there in the ascendant, one of the Towns being at Heptonstall, and Richard Coore at Croston, the author of an octavo of eight hundred pages, entitled 'A Practical Exposition of the Holy Bible,' framed in consistency with Antinomian views. These were the principles also of Mr. Taylor, the minister at Chapel-en-le-Brears, who became at length a professed Quaker. At Rastrick was Mr. Kay, "a good preacher," who removed to Dewsbury, and from thence to Leeds, where he was the lecturer; he was a "moderate Conformist" under the Act of 1662. His successor at Rastrick was Mr. Robinson, "an old man something inclined to the Antinomians," who was a Non-Conformist under the Act; and lastly, at Lightcliffe, in Mr. Heywood's immediate neighbourhood, he found Mr. Ainsworth, of whom he says, that he was "a scholar, little good beside." He became preacher at the great church in Hull.

We have, therefore, in this one parish persons of very different sentiments,—Presbyterians, Independents, and those who were secretly looking for the re-establishment of the Episcopal Church; and in point of doctrine, all the gradations from Rational Orthodoxy to the extreme of Antinomianism. It is quite evident that such a parish was not prepared to carry out the scheme of a Presbyterian church, nor did it make any movement in that direction.

Mr. Heywood has left similar notices of the ministers who succeeded to those whom he found here before him, useful in completing the lists which are left incomplete by Mr. Watson, who is, however, to be praised for the industry with which he prosecuted his researches into

the history of Halifax. I omit them in this work, not without some reluctance; but I must quote at large from Mr. Heywood's manuscripts the account which he gives of his own predecessors in the chapel of Coley; "those famous men," as he calls them, "into whose labours he had entered." We have few such accounts of the series of ministers in the lower ecclesiastical foundations. Of the early names in this list Mr. Heywood writes from the oral information of a person who was eighty-six when he conversed with Mr. Heywood in 1664.

"The first preaching minister after one Sir Adam, that was a reader at Coley, was one Mr. Nicholls, who was a good scholar, an able expositor, and did good by catechizing and expounding. His successor acknowledged that he followed him in two places and that he had laid a good foundation of knowledge in the people where he came. Yet he was addicted to drinking and company-keeping. He would have said to his companions, 'You must not heed me but when I am got three foot above the earth,' that was, into the pulpit. He removed from Coley to Thornton chapel, in Bradford parish, where he lived very many years, got a great estate, had many sons. They all proved very bad; have spent all. He died within this thirty years; was very ancient.

(2.) The next that succeeded was one Mr. Gibson, a godly man and an able minister, who was tabled at the Upper Briar, and afterwards did marry his landlady, old Robert Hemingway's wife, but lived not long after that. How long he was minister here, I cannot tell. He left some plate to the chapel that hath his name upon it, yet forthcoming, with a great silver cup gilt with gold, in the hands of Mr. Joseph Furnesse, living in Ovenden.

(3.) Mr. Ralph Marsden was the next minister, a godly, orthodox and zealous minister, yet much opposed by several professors in this place, as John Lumme, Henry Northend, Michael Hesleden, &c., who never rested till they got him out. What the first occasion of the controversy was, I cannot distinctly learn, but it was pro-

moted by some sharp expressions delivered by Mr. Marsden in public, which could not be borne. One thing I have often heard, that Mr. Marsden living where widow Thorp now lives in Shelf, which then belonged to old Rhodes of Hipperholm, a prophane man, his tenant denied him the sacrament. He stormed, and gave him notice to remove; having no whither to go, cheered himself, saying 'God will provide an habitation; it may be they are now living whom God will remove to provide me an habitation.' It was so; for some persons died out of a house upon Northowram Green, where James Briggs now lives, and he took it; removed at May-day following. At this time, in several disputes, there was a meeting of the chapelry; Mr. Richard Sunderland of Coley Hall, being a justice of the peace, stood for Mr. Marsden. John Lumme opposed him. Mr. Marsden being turned out went into Lancashire; was curate at Ashton-under-Line, Middleton; was followed with some heavy afflictions the latter end of his days. Most of his children were born here. Four sons of his were ministers, able men; viz., Samuel, Jeremiah, Gamaliel and Josiah. One daughter he had, named Esther, that married Mr. Murcot, a famous minister in Ireland, and she was of extraordinary parts; now dead. Had one son bred up a scholar; I hear he is now turned Quaker. Mr. Josiah Marsden, the younger, was most eminent, but he is dead in Ireland. His other three brothers are living." Mr. Ralph Marsden died June 30, 1648. Three of the sons were Non-Conformists under the Act, and are in Calamy's list. The youngest was out of the scope of the Act, having gone to Dublin, where he was a Fellow of Trinity College; he died early.

(4.) "After Mr. Marsden there came two or three to Coley, as Mr. Bourn, Mr. Waugh, stayed a quarter or so, but made no settlement. The next settled minister was Mr. Robert Hierst [Hayhurst], born at Ribchester, in Lancashire. His brother, Mr. Bradley Hierst, vicar of Leigh, turned out upon the Act of Uniformity; yet living at Maxfield, in Cheshire. This choice young man

was at Coley seven or eight years, but fell into a consumption: took his solemn leave in the chapel; told them he had spent his strength with them, he was able to preach no more. There was great weeping and lamentation at the parting; he pined away; had his mother with him, whose breasts he sucked as long as he was able; then died at the Upper Briar, where he was tabled, leaving a sweet savour behind him both of sound doctrine and holy life: was much lamented. (5.) After him came Mr. Denton, a godly minister, who lived at Priestley Green; had no great matters, yet increased exceedingly in the world; had several children; continued here several years; above seven. But times were sharp. The bishops were at their height. In his time came out the Book for Sports on the Sabbath-day, the Oath, &c. He saw he could not do what was required, and feared further persecution, and therefore took the opportunity of going into New England; I suppose about the time that Matthew Mitchel and other good men went thither out of these parts. But he had little comfort there, because he was not altogether of their principles as to church discipline; therefore was unsettled; tost into several parts, till at last he returned into Old England about the year 1659; lived awhile in Essex, and there died*. In his time at

* In this, the account which Mr. Heywood gives differs from that which we find in Mather's 'Magnalia,' where it is said that Mr. Denton died in New England. Dr. Mather gives a particular account of Mr. Mitchel, who went to New England in 1635, in the same ship which carried over Mr. Richard Mather, the minister at Toxteth, in Lancashire, when suspended by the bishop of Chester. Mr. Mitchel is described as a pious and wealthy person. It is a distressing account that is given of the calamities which befel him during the few years of his residence in that country. Several of his people were killed by the Pequot Indians; his cattle destroyed by them; and when he had moved to another part of the continent, his house, barn and goods were consumed by an accidental fire. He was involved also in troublesome disputings with other English settlers. He was suffering also from the stone, which killed him in 1645, at the age of 54. He took with him a son, Jonathan Mitchel, then a boy of eleven years of age, who became a celebrated preacher and pastor of a church at Cambridge, N. E. He died in 1668, and an oratorical

Coley the chapel was enlarged, the new ceiling built that goes to the north, the seats made uniform, the pulpit brought from Halifax, being an old pulpit there opposite to that which now stands in the church ; for as this stands on the south side, so that removed stood north, facing the south, at the other great pillar. (6.) After him came Mr. Andrew Latham, a godly man, born about Prescott, in Lancashire, whose brother, Mr. Paul Latham, was parson of Standish. This Mr. Andrew was but a young man when he came, but very hopeful, pious. He was tabled at Peter Lee's, at Norwood Green ; propounded motions of marriage to one Jane Boyle, brought up with John Lumme at Westercroft, who opposed it, as was thought, because he intended to marry her to his son Timothy Lumme, she having a good portion. But when the old man was from home, by the assistance, as was thought, of his wife, Mr. Latham took her away, went to York, Leeds, and married her. John Lumme was in an exceeding rage, and could never abide Mr. Latham after, but persecuted him violently. Yet the good man enjoyed not his wife long ; she presently fell into a consumption ; he left her weak ; took a journey to London about some occasions ; she was dead and buried on his return. He took on heavily ; preached not the Lord's Day after. The first time he preached he took that text, 1 Cor. vii. 29, 30. Then came on the war, and he fled with the rest when the earl of Newcastle lay with his forces about Halifax ; and he light to settle at Bury, in Lancashire, and joined with Mr. Ault, they having means allowed them out of that sequestered parsonage ; and within a year the banished people were returned, but wanted their old minister ; divers meetings of ministers and others were about it ; but John Lumme and others opposed it, though he was generally beloved. Yet he stayed at Bury ; married Mr. Thomas Binns, of Halifax's, daughter, by

writer uses this expression concerning him : " All New England shook, when that pillar fell to the ground." There is a large account of him in *Magnalia*, book iv. p. 167.

whom he had a daughter ; but he fell sick of a consumption, and died at Bury. Upon his death-bed he earnestly desired to see one seal of his ministry, one soul converted by his labours ; and God at last brought him one, a poor woman in Bury parish, that was wrought upon by his labours ; in which he took much content, and blessed God for that mercy. He was Congregational in his principles a little before he died, though he had been otherwise, and never gathered any church nor acted as an Independent ; but he was a holy man and a useful instrument. I have received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper from his hands in Bolton church in the Presbyterian way, not long before he died, and methought his garments did shine as he came to me. He was a plain and powerful preacher. I believe God did more good by his ministry than he knew of. I suppose he was at Coley nine or ten years. (7.) After him came Mr. Giles Clayton, from Altham, in Lancashire, an holy man and a serious preacher, though not of eminent parts, yet desirous to do good ; he was betwixt forty and fifty years of age when he came hither ; had a wife, but she died ; no child ; was tabled at John Bentley's house in Northowram (now William Cleg's) ; continued four or five years, then died ; was buried in Halifax church, in that chapel that's called Holdsworth's Works. My dear mother was buried just besides him. Good Mr. Jollie immediately succeeded him at Altham ; and though I hear of no great success in his labours, yet I hear a very good character of him, that he was an honest man and a Presbyterian. He made some attempts to set up discipline here and enjoy the sealing ordinance, but it would not do, he could not effect it ; though he lived here in the proper season for that purpose, in the time of the Long Parliament. (8.) When he was dead, they got one Mr. Cudworth, a good scholar and a holy man as was hoped, and a good preacher ; but so exceedingly melancholy that it obscured his parts and rendered himself and labours less acceptable. He lived in Northowram, in

some rooms in Robert Broadley's house, where Joseph Crowther now lives, and in a melancholy humour, he would not have gone to the chapel on a Lord's Day when people have been waiting for him, but said he could not preach, and so caused a disappointment. At other times, in public he would have expounded a chapter in the forenoon till almost twelve o'clock, and fallen to preaching after, and so kept them out of time. So that he tired people that they fell off from him, and he could not stay. He was not at Coley above a year, yet in that time he would have gathered a church in the Congregational way; but the Christians in that congregation being not of that persuasion did not encourage him in it; and so he did nothing and was glad to go away. I think he had been at Lightcliffe before; and went from hence to Beeston, Ardsley, Ossett, and was not long resident anywhere; was very poor; built a house with difficulty upon the Common at Ossett; cast himself into debt; travelled often to London about an augmentation; at last died; left a widow and several children that are now got up; have shifted pretty well; live in Wakefield. In them God remembered his covenant."

Mr. Heywood has left similar notices of the members of several families who formed the body of his parishioners at Coley. The principal of them were of the names of Lumme, Oates, Best, Whitley, Cooper, Brooksbank, Butler, Slater, Northend, Drake, Bradley, Scott, Baxter, Dickson, Hemingway, Thorpe and Crowther. As pictures of domestic manners and evidences of genealogy these notices have their value; some of them are instructive. In the eyes of Mr. Heywood there were great virtues and enormous vices to be found in his little flock. They make part of a volume containing valuable matter for the topographer, which he entitles, 'The History of Coley.'

The family of Sunderland had been in the earlier part of the century the owners of Coley Hall, and were by far the most considerable persons in the chapelry. They

were a liberal as well as a wealthy family, but they were on the point of leaving this part of the county when Mr. Heywood settled here. Mr. Langley Sunderland, the head of the family, was an officer in the Royal army, and by expenses incurred in the king's service and by sequestrations when the war was over, had become reduced to the necessity of selling his estate at Coley, which he did in 1652, when he removed the family to Ackton, near Pontefract, never to return*. The purchaser of the estate was Mr. William Horton, of Barkisland, in another part of the parish, who let Coley Hall to tenants.

The most remarkable of the persons by whom the Hall was inhabited was captain John Hodgson. At the beginning of the civil wars he was at the chapel at

* Mr. Heywood says that he sold the Coley estate for 2000*l.*, but that the whole estate in the parish of Halifax, which he sold, was of 800*l.* a-year, and that he had but 100*l.* a-year when he lived at Ackton, where he died in 1698, at the age of 81. An uncle of Mr. Langdale Sunderland gave the land on which the Free Grammar School founded by Matthew Broadley was erected at Hipperholm, a work which was completed in 1661. This uncle was Mr. Samuel Sunderland, of Harden, in the parish of Bingley, who died in 1677, at the age of 74. He got a large estate in trade in London, as did another brother (both born at Coley Hall) named Peter. Both these brothers fined for alderman, and both were public benefactors, Peter endowing a lecture at Bradford.

On the night of the 11th of May, 1674, the house of Mr. Samuel Sunderland, at Harden, was broken into by nine thieves, who bound all the persons in the house, and broke open his chests, out of which they took 2000*l.* in silver and about 500*l.* in gold pieces. Notwithstanding this, he continued till his death to keep large quantities of specie in his house, and Mr. Heywood relates of him, that the day before he died he caused his chests to be opened where the money was lying closely wedged, and took a solemn farewell of it. He lived penuriously, and at his death had 17,000*l.* in money and 1200*l.* a-year in land. He made several endowments, and was a benefactor to Hipperholm School beside having given the land. This school, which is at a short distance from Coley Chapel, unlike in this respect to many of the rural grammar schools of Yorkshire, has flourished and been a truly valuable institution. Mr. Heywood gives a particular account of the foundation of it. Captain Hodgson was a principal means of getting the money left by Broadley for the purpose, which was withheld for nearly twenty years.

Coley one Sunday morning when Mr. Latham was preaching, when a person came running in, telling the people that Sir William Savile had attacked the neighbouring town of Bradford, and was threatening destruction to the people who had retired for safety into the church. Mr. Latham immediately began "to enlarge upon it in the congregation with a great deal of tenderness and affection," I copy the words of captain Hodgson himself*, "so that many of us did put our hands to the plough with much resolution, being well appointed with necessary weapons; and coming down to Bradford found the enemy ready to make an attempt upon them in the kirk. But we gave them no time; but with a party of club-men or such as had scythes layed in poles, fell upon their horse on one side, and the musketeers on the houses that were ready to storm the church on the other side, and so beat them off, took several of them prisoners that were got into the houses, and had taken their guns but that we wanted a scattering of horse." This was the first action of the war in these parts of Yorkshire and the first beginning of Mr. Hodgson's soldier-ship. He immediately accepted an ensign's commission in Lord Fairfax's army, where he soon became captain, and was engaged in many considerable actions in the course of the war. When it was over he returned to Coley, where he acted as a justice of the peace in the Commonwealth times. He was a thorough Republican and Independent, but having all the zeal and piety of Mr. Heywood, there was a great intimacy between them, notwithstanding their difference of judgment, and his name will frequently occur as our narrative proceeds.

A more remarkable man who had made this parish his place of residence had left it about five years before Mr. Heywood settled at Coley. This was Sir Thomas Browne, of whose residence here there was a strong tradition, first committed to writing by Midgely and published in

* *Original Memoirs during the great Civil War.* Edinburgh, 8vo. 1806, p. 94.

1708, but discredited by Mr. Watson. It has, however, been distinctly proved to be correct, by recent researches, which have brought to light two letters, preserved in the Sloane Collection at the British Museum, addressed to Sir Thomas Browne at Norwich, after his removal to that city, from Dr. Henry Power at Halifax*. These letters place the fact of his residence there beyond all doubt. The Halifax tradition is, that he wrote the *Religio Medici* at Shibden Hall, a house at which Mr. Heywood sometimes visited, between Coley and Halifax. It would have been interesting to have known in what light such a person as Sir Thomas Browne appeared in the earlier years of his life to one who looked upon him from the point of observation at which Mr. Heywood was placed; but I find not the slightest mention of him in Mr. Heywood's papers, neither indeed of the *Religio Medici*, which was no work for a Puritan.

Of taste, intelligence, refinement, there appears to have been little at Coley; and, on the whole, few places could be less promising and less eligible to a young man fresh from the University. But this was immaterial to Mr. Heywood; his single aim having been then, as ever afterwards, to preach the gospel with energy, constancy and success, regardless of the absence of other objects of interest, dead to the suggestions of ambition; and caring little whether the seed were sown in rude and uncultivated minds or in a finer soil, provided it took root and bore fruit to life eternal.

For the first four years of his residence at Coley he lived in the house of one of his parishioners named Richard Best, a wealthy carrier and dealer in wool, who lived at Landimer in Shelf. He was a kind of Nabal, rich, covetous and churlish; "the epitome," says Mr. Heywood, "of carnality, worldliness and carelessness." But he found in him "a notable school-book, and occasional

* *A Collection of Letters illustrative of the progress of Science in England*, formed by J. O. Halliwell, Esq., and published by the Historical Society of Science. 8vo. 1841, p. 91.

teacher in the then infancy of his ministry, learning from him what are the carnal pleas and cavils of misguided souls." He laments that he was unable to produce any change in the habitual thoughts of this person, who died in 1660*.

In 1654 he removed to Godley House, which he hired of Nathan Drake, one of a numerous family seated from very early times in the Shibden valley, and which produced, when they had emigrated from Halifax, several persons whose names are eminent in the literature of England. Here Mr. Heywood commenced house-keeping in union with his brother, Mr. Nathaniel Heywood, who had just become the minister of the chapel at Illingworth, as successor to Mr. Clarkson, and was lately married. When last we spoke of him he was at Cambridge. When he had finished his studies there he spent some time in London, "to hear famous preachers," and then returned to Lancashire, where he was received into the family of Mr. Edward Gee, a noted Puritan, who had the church of Eccleston. He lived two years with Mr. Gee, and "became moulded in his method, manner and practice." He there became acquainted with Mrs. Elizabeth Parr, of the Wood in Eccleston, a relation of Dr. Richard Parr, bishop of Sodor and Man, to whom Mr. Gee had been chaplain.

* The situation of this family at the time of Mr. Heywood's first acquaintance with them deserves to be put on record, on account of its great singularity. Best married about the year 1618, and had three children, whom he named John, Michael, and Mary. Each of these married, and died before the father, each leaving an only child. After this the father married a second time, to his servant, and had again three children, to whom he gave the same names, John, Michael and Mary, who all grew up and married. Such a state of things would mock the efforts of the most expert genealogist who should attempt to discover the actual facts by the aid of wills and the other means of recovering genealogical truth. A better turn of mind appeared in some of the descendants: Martha Best, the daughter of the first-named John, became the wife of Joseph Dawson, who was an ejected minister, and both of them were through life intimate friends of Mr. Heywood.

This was the lady whom he married. Illingworth was the first place at which he settled as a minister; but he was less fortunate than his brother at Coley. He did good, but had potent adversaries, so that after two years stay he willingly accepted a call to Ormskirk, in his own county, where he continued to exercise his ministry till he was silenced by the Act of Uniformity.

Mr. Heywood had a severe illness while living at Godley House, and there was for awhile little hope of his recovery. In this house the eldest daughter of his brother Nathaniel was born.

In 1655 he removed to a house which he hired in the village of Northowram, a house to which he returned again as the possessor, after having left it for several years and gone to reside in another part of his chapelry. He took this house apparently in contemplation of his marriage.

The lady with whom he united himself was Mrs. Elizabeth Angier, the daughter of John Angier, of Denton,—"holy and peaceable Mr. Angier," as a contemporary describes him, one of the most eminent of the Presbyterian ministers of the time. This was the Mr. Angier to whom he was accustomed to go with his mother to hear his affectionate and awakening discourses, and in whose house it had been intended to place him when he left Cambridge. There appears to have been everything in the connection to make it suitable to Mr. Heywood's character, position and objects; and he himself thought it highly honourable to him that he had made it, for there was no minister of the time who had wrought himself more completely into the respect and affections of the gentry of his neighbourhood than Mr. Angier, and there was certainly none who had more influence than he through the whole Christian community around him. Mr. Angier was connected by his second marriage with Margaret Moseley with the wealthy and powerful family of that name in the neighbourhood of Manchester. The first wife of Mr. Angier, and the mother of his daughter, was

Ellen Winstanley, by whom Mr. Heywood was allied to the Horrocks' and some other Lancashire families of note among the Puritans of the time before the wars. Mr. Angier himself was a native of Essex, brought up under one of the fathers of Puritanism, Mr. John Cotton, of Boston, who removed to New England, whither Mr. Angier had the intention of accompanying him, but was dissuaded from it by the relations of his wife, and by Francis Critchlaw, Mr. Heywood's uncle, a circumstance on which Mr. Heywood afterwards reflected with much satisfaction. They prevailed with him to remain in Lancashire, where he was first at Ringley Chapel, but being suspended at that place for want of sufficient conformity, he removed to Denton, one of the chapels of the parish of Manchester, where the remainder of his life was spent. As for the lady, Mr. Heywood speaks of her as "the mirror of her age for accomplishments and piety."

They went through the old ceremony of hand-fasting or espousing. This was done in Mr. Angier's study a month before the day appointed for their marriage. The entire day was spent in prayer, except that there was a sermon preached by Mr. Nathaniel Rathband. At the close of it the parties were contracted. The banns were published in the church of Halifax at the close of the morning exercise on three Lord's Days. The marriage was celebrated on the 24th of April, 1655, at the chapel at Denton. A multitude of people were present, to whom a sermon was delivered, by Mr. Harrison, of Ashton-under-Line. Mr. Crew, of Utlington, in Cheshire, a great friend of Mr. Angier, presented them with a silver bowl, which was long preserved in the family as a relic. Of his wife's fortune, 200*l.* was paid to Mr. Heywood's father, who, in consideration of it, settled upon them lands at Little Lever of the annual value of 10*l.*, in addition to the Walk Mill and lands at Water-side valued at 6*l.* per annum.

But she lived not long. She was of a sickly constitution. Her first child, whom they named John, was born

at Northowram on the 18th of April, 1656, and her second, named Eliezer, on the same day of the month in 1657. A third son, named Nathaniel, died in his infancy. She herself died at her father's house on Sunday, May 26, 1661, at the age of twenty-seven. Mr. Heywood drew up an account of her blameless life and pious end.

And while on these domestic affairs, it may be mentioned that at his house at Northowram died his good and pious mother. Her death occurred at the time of the birth of his second son, when Mr. Angier was also a visitor at Northowram. Two or three days after its birth the infant was taken to the chapel to be baptized. Mr. Angier preached. The grandmother was present. On the next morning she appeared equipped for her journey home to Lancashire. Her unfitness to undertake the journey was perceptible to every one; indeed, symptoms of speedy dissolution soon manifested themselves. She was taken to her chamber, and at one o'clock she expired. It was the 22nd of April, 1657. On the 24th her body was laid in Holdsworth's Works, a part of the church at Halifax rich in Puritan dust. There lie the remains of Mr. Boys, the lecturer, and of two of Mr. Heywood's predecessors in the chapel at Coley. There also, in due season, was Mr. Heywood himself interred. Mr. Booth and Mr. Bentley were also buried there. Their tombs, as well as that of Dr. Holdsworth himself, were plucked up, when Mr. Wilkinson, a later vicar, caused great alterations to be made in the fabric of the church. Mr. Bentley preached at Mrs. Heywood's funeral, from the remarkable text which she had chosen.

These particulars of Mr. Heywood's domestic history could not with propriety be omitted. In the next chapter we shall proceed with his public conduct as a minister.

Before the death of his wife he had left the house at Northowram and removed to Norwood Green, a house which he hired of Thomas Oates.

CHAPTER VI.

MR. HEYWOOD'S ORDINATION.—REMARKS ON ORDINATION OF MINISTERS.—HIS INTRODUCTION OF DISCIPLINE IN HIS CONGREGATION AT COLEY.—OPPOSITION TO IT; CONSEQUENCES.—PROPOSALS OF REMOVING TO YORK AND PRESTON.—THE HOGHTONS.—COMPLETE POLITICAL TRIUMPH OF THE INDEPENDENTS AND OTHER SECTARIES.—ATTEMPT AT FRIENDLY UNION BETWEEN THE PRESBYTERIANS AND INDEPENDENTS.—MR. NEWCOME, OF MANCHESTER.—POLITICAL MOVEMENTS OF THE PRESBYTERIANS.—SIR GEORGE BOOTH'S RISING.—INCREASED ESTRANGEMENT BETWEEN THE PRESBYTERIANS AND INDEPENDENTS.—MR. HEYWOOD TAKEN BY A PARTY OF COL. LILBURN'S TROOP.—HIS BITTER REFLECTIONS ON THE POLITICAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL STATE OF THE TIMES.—SPIRIT IN WHICH HE LOOKED TO THE KING'S RESTORATION.—OTHER MINISTERS THE SAME.

NOTHING material occurred to Mr. Heywood during the first two or three years of his ministry at Coley. The people were abundantly satisfied with his zealous and acceptable discharge of his duties, and he was satisfied with the opportunities which were afforded him both of private study and public usefulness.

“Still,” he says, “he did not look upon himself as a minister in office, but a probationer and candidate for the ministry.” This arose from his not having yet received ordination. He adds, that he could not have gone on without it with that comfort and confidence that afterwards he did.

There was not in the county in which he was now settled any regularly constituted body of ministers to whom he could apply, at least not in the parts of the county with which he was conversant*. His thoughts,

* Though the Presbyterian church was never established as a national measure, and only in Lancashire and London was such a

therefore, naturally turned to his native county, where the Presbyterian system was in complete operation, and particularly to the Second or Bolton Classis. He proposed himself to them as a candidate for ordination, and the proposal being favourably entertained, the ceremony was performed in the church of Bury on the fourth of August, 1652.

Some indulgence seems to have been allowed him in the point of age. He presented certificates of his unimpeachable conduct, and of his call to the ministry by the people of Coley. Four of the older members of his congregation accompanied him to bear their oral testimony, and to be witnesses of what passed. The proceedings began by an examination of him in divers parts of learning*. He then defended in Latin the thesis, that it is lawful to baptize infants. He delivered a sermon on Romans x. 15. Then, in the midst of solemn prayer, and before a great assembly of people, the ministers present laid their hands upon his head as he kneeled before them. When this was done, Mr. Til-

church formed as far as a single province could go, there were in many parts of the country during the Commonwealth times associations of ministers, under the denomination of Classes, for the purpose chiefly of ordination. But these were only voluntary associations, while the Classes in Lancashire rested on the basis of the law of the land. One of these voluntary unions was of the ministers in the south parts of Yorkshire. They seem, indeed, to have been pretty general.

* The examinations were severe. "Beside other matters touching the work of grace in his own soul, his ends in desiring the ministry, and his direct call to the place where he would officiate, the expectant must give a satisfactory account of his skill in the Greek and Hebrew tongues, in logic, philosophy, and divinity, and also exhibit a thesis upon a question given in Latin, and defend it in the same language against the syllogistic opinions of three great scholars."—*MS. Life of Martindale*, before quoted,—who was examined by the Manchester Classis, and approved; but when his *Si quis* was placed on the church door, eleven persons of his parish where Independent principles had found their way and brought with them, as usual, cavilling and dissension, objected; whereupon he went to London and was ordained by a Classis of ministers there.

desley delivered an address on the duties belonging to the ministerial office. The instruction it contained was "excellent and profitable." The whole service must have been solemn and impressive; and so it appears to have been regarded by the multitude present; for Mr. Heywood says "there were many tears poured forth that day, partly in thankfulness for return of prayer, partly for further increase of grace; with great importunity and enlargement in petitioning a blessing upon that day's work." When he wrote those words he would think of his mother, who must have been present, and whose heart would be amongst those which overflowed in joy and fulness of hope and thanksgiving. How little have the successors of these men in the Presbyterian ministry thought of what they were about, to suffer a service like this to have fallen into disuse! "It hath often been much satisfaction to my spirit," observes Mr. Heywood, "in the midst of my troubles to review my regular entrance to the ministry. I had the unanimous call and consent of the people; by fasting and prayer, and imposition of hands, I was set apart to the great office; and I have found abundantly more assistance in my ministerial duties than I did before; the Lord having borne up my heart with more comfort, confidence, courage, and enlargement; yea, and hath made my labour more profitable and successful." Surely the important duties of the ministerial office will be performed more usefully to the people, and more satisfactorily to the minister, when he looks upon himself as having entered upon a path from which there is no return, and as being separated from the world in the peculiar manner practised from the beginning of Christianity for this peculiar work; as having thus special duties and special defences in the discharge of them, and as bound in conscience and duty to observe his ordination vows with the same strictness as his marriage vows made in the same sacred place, and in the midst of similar solemnities.

The objections to the service are, that it is superstitious, and that it conveys an impression of something which those concerned in it do not themselves suppose to exist. But do they who infer superstition consider how that word may be applied to any and to every thing connected with a religious profession and practice, and that in point of fact there is nothing in a religious and Christian practice which some persons have not been found to denounce as superstitious: infant-baptism, for instance, the Lord's Supper, or even the institution of a ministry at all? Even Christianity itself was once, we know, in ancient times denominated a superstition, and the number is not few of persons who so regard it now. In fact superstition is, more than anything else, relative and arbitrary. That may be superstitious to another which is not superstitious to me; and it is at least hazardous in a Christian to declare any service of his religion superstitious which is so strong in primitive precedent and scriptural authority as ordination by "the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery." And as to the impression which it conveys, perhaps we know not very well what that grace was which the laying on of the apostles' hands actually conveyed; and still less what the laying on of the hands of persons not apostles, but only ministers, pastors, or bishops; and in the same uncertainty we may still innocently leave it.

Some think also that the distinction which it establishes between minister and people is injurious. But is the separation of some persons to the practice of the healing art, and of others to the interpretation and practice of the law, and giving them monopolies, rank, titles, and privileges, which distinguish them from other men, an evil in the state of society in which we live? Why then shall we presume evil in a similar state of things respecting those whose peculiar study is theology, and peculiar duty to maintain a healthful state of the public morals and the influence in society of Christian

principles?—surely a high, honourable, and important office, not to be entrusted but to competent and recognised hands. It is not pretended that ordination will of itself give a man the graces and virtues which become a minister, or alone entitle him to the respect and confidence which it is desirable should be conceded to all who sustain that character; but it marks him as having been worthy to bear the office in the opinion of competent judges. It may happen that some persons may be thus prevented from engaging in duties belonging to the ministerial office which they might discharge respectably and usefully. But the same thing might be said of the fences which surround other professions; and yet it can hardly be doubted that on the whole it is for the public good that such fences should exist, that in fact some guarantee should previously be taken of fitness to discharge the duties of professions to which peculiar privileges are given, which necessarily implies *distinction*: and that if some who might be useful are kept out of the ministry by it, others are kept out who would take on them the character without preparation, and without either moral or intellectual fitness.

On the question—by whom the ordination should be performed, whether by bishops, as successors of the apostles, and a distinct order, or by presbyters,—I do not now enter, further than to observe, that the publicity of the Presbyterian ordinations, while the Presbyterian discipline existed, seems to have been a favourable circumstance, both as respected the candidate and the people, whose hearts were then open to receive instruction on the expectations they had a right to entertain from the person then admitted into the office of minister, and on the other hand of the duties which they owed him: nor would the ceremony lose anything of its solemnity by the presence of so many reverend ministers, some of them truly *πρεσβύτεροι*, standing on the brink of the grave, delivering, as it were, the torch of Christian truth to younger hands, to be by them held

out in the world and transmitted in due time to another generation. I know not how others may think of it, but I have never so strong an impression of the reality of the history on which our faith rests as when partaking of the Supper of our Lord, and thinking of myself as one in the long succession of people who have sat down at that table even from the beginning: but I question whether the unbroken series of ordained ministers of the church is not even a still more striking and forcible proof. We ought surely to have paused and reflected before we broke this polished chain of evidence.

The ministers who laid their hands on Mr. Heywood were Mr. John Tildesley of Dean, Mr. John Harper and Mr. Richard Goodwin of Bolton, Mr. William Ault and Mr. Tobias Fourness of Bury, Mr. Peter Bradshaw of Ainsworth, Mr. Jonathan Scholefield of Heywood Chapel, Mr. Thomas Pyke of Radcliffe, Mr. Henry Pendlebury of Holcomb, and Mr. Robert Bath of Rochdale. They were all Puritans and Presbyterians. Four of them died before the Act of Uniformity in 1662; all the rest were of those whom their posterity frequently designate as the Bartholomean worthies.

Seven years of much private comfort and public usefulness had passed at Coley when the mind of Mr. Heywood became disturbed with the notion that there was a material defect in the way in which he was proceeding in his pastoral duties. The thought issued in a resolution, and this resolution involved him in endless disputings, and was the beginning of many troubles. There is too often a restlessness in minds full of religion and benevolence uncomfortable to the parties themselves, and inconvenient to those connected with them; and hence it is that the institution is a wise one, which sets certain metes and bounds about the path of ministers, wise, as respects the ministers themselves, and as respects the peace of the people to whom they minister. The case was this:—For many years, even from the beginning of the war in 1642, there had been no celebra-

tion of the Lord's Supper in the chapel of Coley. This was a deficiency which the minister was bound to see supplied; and all would have been right had he revived the ordinance, and at stated times administered it. In this he would have received general support. But this was not enough to satisfy him. He could not bring himself to think of receiving in confidence those who came, that they came in sincerity and with a sufficiency of humility, faith, and repentance. Nothing would satisfy him but such previous examination as he had known practised in Lancashire to ascertain the amount of Christian knowledge which the applicant possessed, and the proficiency which he had made in the divine life, and then to receive or to reject. In short his plan was to confine "the sealing ordinance," as the Puritans called it, to a select body of his parishioners only.

Here then necessarily arose a very material question. It was no less than this,—whether the people, for whose use the chapel of Coley had been built and endowed in former times, had not a right to partake there of this ordinance without subjecting themselves to an examination which might not be agreeable to those whose purity of life would bear the closest inspection, and which must have been very repugnant to any persons in whom sorrow was silently working out the fruits of repentance. There might be also those who would feel it a kind of duty to oppose themselves to a power which admitted of the term inquisitorial being applied to it, and who entertained less exalted ideas of ministerial prerogative than seem at this period to have possessed the mind of Mr. Heywood. His intentions were perfectly pure, but he ought to have foreseen the opposition which would arise, and that he was taking a course which would end in his finding himself to be the pastor of but a portion of his flock.

The state of religious parties in his own chapelry and in the chapelries around him, might also have shown him that he was entering on a path of great difficulty

and danger. He had some families of zealous Independents in his chapelry ; and there were Quakers near him who saw nothing but superstition in the ordinance, and usurpation in the office of minister. Naylor, the noted Quaker, was a native of Ardsley and a member of the Independent congregation at Topcliffe, both between Coley and Wakefield.

We cannot perhaps fully determine how far these considerations were present to his mind, or whether he drew the distinction between a parish-minister in a public chapel and a minister who has collected about him a voluntary association of persons by whose contributions he is supported. But having once formed the resolution, with that pertinacity to his purposes which is evident in the whole course of his history, he determined to persevere. A meeting was called of the inhabitants, when he laid before them his plan. It was proposed that the triers should be chosen by the people, and report only to the minister. But when they came to the point of electing the triers, no person was found who had sufficient confidence in himself or the system to accept the office. Nothing daunted, Mr. Heywood still persevered, and at last succeeded in gathering from his flock a select society in the midst of many heart-burnings. But the harmony of the chapelry, and much of the comfort of the minister, were gone.

Mr. Heywood's own account of this affair must be given :—“ In process of time, when I had continued almost seven years in this congregation, I was convinced of my duty to endeavour to set up discipline, and restore the ordinance of the Lord's Supper ; which, after many disputes and carnal reasonings, I set upon and made the attempt. I had many discouragements in my first thoughts thereof, and loth was I to engage in such untrodden paths, it being uncouth and odious in the country. My first work was to preach many sermons about that weighty subject, partly to stir up in believers a desire thereof, partly to show the way to the obtaining it,

and preparation for it, and suitable dispositions fit for a profitable participation of it: and at last fell to execution. I desired a meeting. Many came; and when I had acquainted them with the way I aimed to take, and desired them to make a choice of some that might assist me in the work (though that could not be yielded to), then I resolved to do what could be done myself. I entreated all those that desired to partake of that ordinance to acquaint me therewith, that I might discourse with them about the main fundamentals of religion, for I confess it hath always been my principle that grossly ignorant and scandalous are to be debarred that sealing ordinance. There came to me above a hundred and twenty persons, from most of whom I received abundant unexpected satisfaction, and found more knowledge, true piety, and convictions of conscience than I had before that made account of. Many were exceeding glad of this opportunity they had to open their condition to me, who had been long hindered that way by prejudice, occasions, and many temptations. I found it so refreshing and encouraging to me, that it did abundantly compensate my labour if I had made no further progress in the work than only obtained so much acquaintance with the spiritual state of so many souls. And when I had finished that work, I communicated the names of such as I had dealt withall to the whole, and earnestly entreated that if any had any just grounds of exception against any, that they would discover it before we proceeded to administration; and though there were many secret surmisings, yet no objectors appeared: and for those that were yet groundedly suspected of visible unworthiness, though none could or would stand up to debar them of encroaching, yet the Lord acted that part, and by the forenoon's sermon pricked their consciences and diverted their intentions from sitting down, which might, I fear, have been a great distraction to some Christians. Yea, others resolving to stay, though not submitting to order, and so to disturb us, were

driven back, and we know not how, unless by the special and signal hand of God immediately there. We enjoyed the ordinance peaceably and comfortably, and it was very precious and profitable to the souls of such as had been long waiting for the salvation of God. This was the first ordinance that we have enjoyed, or that was administered, since these late uncivil civil wars in this perplexed nation, and it was a day of gladness and feasting, for the joy of our Lord was our strength: and having obtained help of God, we have continued in the frequent and usually monthly celebration thereof above these two years, and gives us grounded hopes of the further continuance thereof." Seventy-three persons appear to be the whole number who actually joined, the first name being that of Luke Hoyle, Mr. Heywood's especial friend.

I proceed with Mr. Heywood's own narrative:—"But as every good work meets with opposition either from pretended friends or professed foes, and as usually the way of God or virtue lies betwixt two extremes, so that it is ordinarily crucified betwixt two thieves; so here, on the one hand, some directly oppose making any distinction at all, but would have all to lie common, and would have the blood of Christ prostituted to all comers, yea, contemners of it: these beat down purity with the odious charge of novelty. On the other hand, others, pleading for an unwarrantable groundless separation, would be wise and righteous overmuch, and screw up the pin beyond the reach of the word, and lay that stress on circumstantialia which the Scriptures do not, and we dare not. These are apt to challenge us with conformity and compliance with the world, and with looseness in our principles and practices. From both sides I have received grievous buffetings, and many fondly say the latter hath been far more prejudicial to my work and afflictive to my spirit than the former. The wicked of the world will be meddling and shooting hasty bolts. David was the drunkard's song: and every

one hath a reviling flout to bestow on such as walk not in their road, though condescending as far as they can possibly. But, alas, it is not so much wonder if these be not skilled in these weighty matters, and parable be- seems not the mouth of fools; and if these hate strict- ness and break all bonds asunder that may hinder them in the pursuit of easy lawless liberty,—that is, their design and custom is their reason, and their will their law, and they are wiser in their own conceit than ten men that can render a reason; these we may not think strange as if their licentious practice put them at catching hold of licentious principles to indicate the same, and fret and fume when great Diana falls, and cry after their ‘privi- leges,’ to which they have no right, as Micah after his Gods, yet would be indulged in ignorance, vanity, and se- curity:—though those have sometimes pleaded zealously for me, and would have put me in their bosoms, and pretended so much love as though they would have plucked out their right eyes (yet, notwithstanding, sus- pecting their principles, I depended not upon them, and durst not trust their fond and groundless affection), now at last, because I crossed their humour, they railed at me, and would almost pull out my eyes in violent con- tradiction, and use their utmost endeavour to thrust me out of place. Truth it is, I expected no better from them, but worse. But I may say with David, it was my familiar friends and intimate associates, yea, I hope (some of them), sincere Christians, that are the greatest trouble to me; and in this they are worse, because I expected better. Yea, some that have professed en- deared love to me as their spiritual father, these, pre- tending scripture grounds, would throw the nation and congregation into a confused chaos, if they may model new churches and lay a new foundation, disparaging and despising the old principles and professors that have been of so many years’ standing in this place. Would they join their hands with ours in reforming abuses, and build upon the old foundation, we should gladly join

with them and might be mutually helpful each to other, and lay no more stress upon relating experiences and joining in a covenant than the Scriptures do, and for their right and limited ends*.”

There is a great deal of very important matter in this too rhetorical passage. One thing is clear, that Mr. Heywood had wrought himself into the affections of his people, whatever might be their judgment in the disputes of the time about Episcopacy, Presbyterianism, or Independency. All seem to have loved and revered him alike. Why could he not be satisfied with such an opening for infusing Christian principles, and for keeping his simple mountain flock in the paths of duty in the way to heaven? He has, however, not yet fully opened the mischief which was done, for his narrative proceeds thus:—“Truth it is, my earnest desires after peace and unity for our own advantage and mutual edification put me upon studying many means for composing our differences, and frequent meetings together for accommodation in what we could, that wherein we were agreed we might walk together in love, especially those common and confessed truths and ways of God that neither Satan, nor our common adversaries that watch for our halting and bear an equal ill-will to us all, might not insult over us divided, whom they durst not

* In the volume of ‘Soliloquies,’ which I have not seen, he says, when speaking of this affair, after having expressed his thankfulness at the thought of having carried his scheme into effect,—“Who would have thought so great a work could have been carried on so far, managed by so weak an instrument, with so little assistance, and in the midst of so much discouraging opposition! Surely the hand of the Lord was in all this! Though we were a poor despised company of weak individuals, deserted, if not opposed, by the rich in the congregation, who would not put their necks under the yoke of Christ, yet hath the Lord helped us in the discharge of our duty. When some threatened they would offer themselves at the ordinance to see if I would pass them by, the power of God’s word did so prevail that they withdrew from their intended design.”—*The Life of the Rev. O. Heywood*, by the Rev. Richard Slate, prefixed to his *Works*, 8vo, 1827, vol. i. p. 52.

meddle with united. And for this end I used all the means I could, and condescended as far as well I durst, so as not to wrong conscience, that we might meet in one: yea, so much am I delighted with the name of peace (*dulce pacis nomen*), that I have cause to be jealous over myself lest I lose a grain of salt for an ounce of peace. I have gone to the utmost that my principles, conscience, and the word of God would reach, that I might become all things to all men; but, alas, our meetings and complyings have done little good, nay, it's well if it have not done some hurt, though accidentally; for the Lord is witness to the singleness and sincerity of my heart and aim in these undertakings, though the prejudices of men have put various misconstructions thereupon."

It is manifest that there was an end to his general usefulness in the character of a village pastor, to whom all looked up to be fed, that he must henceforth look upon himself as united in the bonds of Christian affection with those only who formed his select society, while the rest would attend his ministrations only through habit or convenience. This was a great change and a great evil; but it was of the less consequence, as greater changes were at hand, and he was about to be removed from his public station at Coley. It was on the same rock that his brother split at Illingworth.

There can be no doubt that Mr. Heywood's views in this matter were not only pure, but high; that the whole plan had its origin in a sense of duty and a serious regard for the spiritual interests of the persons committed to his charge. If there were in it anything of earthly concretion, it was a little too elevated an idea of the value of pastoral superintendence, or perhaps of ministerial superiority. His love for his whole people cannot be questioned; and if what he relates of some of the more wealthy families among his parishioners be true, it might have been well for them, here and hereafter, if they had adopted other means than those which they

thought sufficient to strengthen the influence of Christian principles in their hearts.

His love to them was put about this time to the test. Looking at Mr. Heywood's position at Coley in what it would be too harsh to call a merely worldly point of view, looking upon it, I mean, as a field of exertion to a man of talent and education, and as a place in which suitable society to such a person was to be obtained, few situations would appear to be less desirable; but he resisted, about this period, a temptation to remove to a scene of greater usefulness, where he would have been more in the eye of the world, and where he would have found many congenial minds. In fact, about this period of his life, when his eminent ministerial abilities began to be known, he had two opportunities of removal. One of them was to the church of Saint Martin in York; the other, in which he appears to have had more difficulty in determining the course he would take, was to Preston in his native county. His call to Preston was clear and complete, for he had the nomination of Sir Richard Hoghton*,

* This was the baronet, of Hoghton-Tower, in the neighbourhood of Preston. He died in February 1678. The sermon, preached at his funeral by Dr. Seth Bushell, is printed. A high character is given of him as a person of great worth and honour, and esteemed in the several relations of public and private life; but he is not celebrated for any peculiar strictness in his religious profession. Mr. Heywood, speaking of his death, says that "he was a favourer of good things, though no great zealot." His wife, Lady Sarah Hoghton, who was a daughter of the first earl of Chesterfield, was accounted "very eminent for religion," and it was probably at her suggestion that there was an intention of bringing so zealous a minister as Mr. Heywood to Preston. After the Act of Uniformity this family had service conducted by Non-Conforming ministers,—Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Sagar, and Mr. Kaye. Mr. Tong, in his 'Life of Matthew Henry,' speaks of her as "a great patroness of religion and non-conformity" (p. 197). She was living in 1693. There was a regular Non-Conforming congregation formed under her patronage and that of her son, Sir Charles, who was a correspondent of Mr. Heywood. Sir Charles died in 1710, and was succeeded by his son, Sir Henry Hoghton, who died in 1768 at the age of eighty-nine. To him succeeded the younger Sir Henry Hoghton, his nephew, who

the patron of the living, and the unanimous concurrence of the people. At Preston also the discipline was established which he was attempting to introduce at Coley. There were other considerable advantages. His reasons for declining it are not very apparent, and we may believe that his affection for the people who first called him to the ministry prevailed over the inducements presented to him; to which, however, must be added, the advice of his father-in-law, Mr. Angier, who said to him, "It is ill transplanting a tree that thrives well in the soil."

It was in the year 1657 that Mr. Heywood made his attempt "to set up discipline" at Coley. Whether he looked upon it as a step towards the establishment in those parts of the county of York of a Presbyterian Classis, we cannot tell; but the scheme looks very like an attempt to establish a Congregational Eldership. Independency, however, was at that time quite in the ascendant, and any Presbyterian efforts must needs be ineffectual. It had indeed been so ever since the battle of Worcester, and it might perhaps have maintained its ascendancy had not there been perpetual schisms in the Independent congregations themselves, some shooting off as Anabaptists, and many as Quakers, to say nothing of the minor sects. This was the certain and inevitable consequence of the encouragement they gave to lay-preaching, when there was no control over the "gifted brethren" but what the particular congregation might possess.

This was not, however, without active opposition on the part of the Presbyterians, on whom this duty devolved; the Royalists and friends of the Episcopal church being at that time a discomfited and apparently a ruined party. The opposition was not merely in the form of

was the last baronet of the family who took much interest in the affairs of Non-Conformity.

Mr. Heywood relates some strange circumstances which attended the death of Sir Richard Hoghton;—that the wheel of his mill went backward;—that a dumb man warned him of his death by signs, &c.

paper-controversy, but political also. Soon after the battle of Worcester, while on the one hand the loyal earl of Derby was put to death, the Presbyterian warden of Manchester, Mr. Heyrick, was placed in confinement at Lambeth; and in Lancashire, Mr. Hollingworth, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Gee, Mr. Latham, Mr. Johnson and other ministers, including even peaceable Mr. Angier, were placed under arrest for supposed political disaffection to the new order of things, and as having actually excited the people to revolt. The effect of that battle was the consolidation of the power of Cromwell, the curtailed Parliament, and Independency.

So completely was the power of the Presbyterians broken, that the Provincial Assembly, which had been constituted in London and which met half-yearly, discontinued their meetings in 1655, "finding themselves," says Neal, "without power, and not being willing to apply to the Protector and his Parliament for support."

Ill did the Presbyterians brook the ascendancy which the less respectable part of the Puritan body had thus gained in the state; and much did they deplore the rise of various discordant sects, and the dissensions which arose in consequence in almost every parish, on one ecclesiastical question or another. But they were without remedy: they had broken down the ancient government of the church, without having strength to establish another, and the consequence necessarily was the state of religious anarchy which they saw and lamented; so that they had only themselves to blame,—too impatient perhaps, as those who administered the government of the church had been too severe.

The friends of peace sought to promote it by attempts at union where the parties had not shot out into the wilder extravagances of the time. In particular, in the south of Lancashire, there was an attempt at union between the Presbyterians and Independents, as far as there could be union between parties composed of elements so essentially different.

A meeting was held at Manchester on the 13th of July, 1659, at which certain terms of agreement were settled. They are expressed in very general words, and do no more than bind the two parties to the mutual exchange of civilities and the laying aside "all unnecessary distances and unbrotherly carriage," which did not become ministers of a common Gospel. Mr. Heyrick, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Angier and Mr. Newcome were among the first to subscribe the terms on the part of the Presbyterians*.

This is the first time that the name of Mr. Newcome has appeared, and as he soon came to take the lead in the affairs of the Lancashire Presbyterians, and as, consequently, his name will frequently occur as we proceed, it may be proper to state here that he was about two years older than Mr. Heywood, and had studied probably at the same time with him in the University of Cambridge. He was one of many sons of Stephen Newcome, who was rector of Caldecote, in Huntingdonshire. He is described by Dr. Calamy as "a hard student, and of great proficiency in philosophy and theology." He was at the beginning of his ministry settled at Gawsorth, in Cheshire, from whence, in 1656, he removed to Manchester to succeed Mr. Hollingworth, and at Manchester he spent the remainder of his life, which was continued to 1695, first as a clergyman of the Presbyterian church of Lancashire as long as it existed, and afterwards as

* Similar attempts at union among religious parties were made about the same time in other parts of the kingdom. See *Life of Philip Henry*, 12mo, 1698, p. 60:—The ministers in his neighbourhood, the borders of Shropshire and Wales, "appointing particular associations, and (notwithstanding the differences of apprehension that were among them, some being in their judgments Episcopal, others Congregational, and others Classical) they agreed to lay aside the thoughts of matters in variance, and to give to each other the right hand of fellowship; that with one shoulder and with one consent they might study each in their places to promote the common interest of Christ's kingdom, and the common salvation of precious souls." See more valuable matter on this point in the place referred to.

the pastor of the Presbyterian Non-Conformists in that town. He married a lady of the family of Mainwaring of Cheshire, by which marriage he became connected with many of the principal families of that county, and brother-in-law to a remarkable but very different man of those times, Elias Ashmole, the alchemist and herald, and the learned author of the History of the Order of the Garter*.

The union of the Lancashire Presbyterians and Independents, which was in fact rather a cessation of hostilities than a union, was to begin on the fourth Thursday of the September following; but the whole design came to nothing, and the two parties became still more widely estranged, in consequence of certain political movements in which Mr. Heywood may be said to have had some share, as he was a sufferer in consequence of them.

As long as Cromwell lived and retained his popularity with the army, any attempt of the Presbyterians would have been but in vain to regain the power which they had held for so short a time, or to re-establish that monarchy which they had sought not to destroy, but to place under constitutional restraint, or the church which they meant not to remove, but to reform; the power of the sword was above them, and they had nothing to do but to sit on the ground by the side of the Royalists, and to sigh over the disappointment of all their hopes. But the removal of Cromwell made way for weaker minds, and there was a succession of persons who usurped the sovereign power without being able long to retain it. This revived the spirits and hopes of the Presbyterians,

* The sons of Mr. Newcome were Conforming clergymen; and several of his descendants have been in the church and ornaments to it. One of them was bishop of Rochester. I am not certain whether Newcome the archbishop of Armagh descended from Newcome of Manchester, but if not from himself it was from a very near relative. Most of the Conforming Newcomes were of the class of English clergy called Liberal; and the same may be observed in other families of Presbyterian extraction who have gone into the church, the Disneys, Dawsons, and others.

who, weary of the intolerable tyranny of the Sectaries, began to contemplate, as the only means of relief, the recall of the king, and the restoration of the old constitution, but, as they hoped, with stronger checks on the prerogative, and greater liberty for the ministers of religion.

Early in 1659 there were several communications between the leaders of the Presbyterian party and the king. The intention was that there should be simultaneous risings in various parts of the kingdom. The design was however a perilous one, and some persons who were early engaged in it dared not venture to show themselves openly ; so that, with the exception of a single movement at Derby*, there was only one outbreak of any moment, the principal seat of which was in the northern parts of Cheshire along the borders of south Lancashire.

The leader in this movement was the younger Sir George Booth, of Dunham Massey, who had lately succeeded to the title and estates of his grandfather, an old Sir George Booth, of whom Clarendon says, that he was "of absolute power with the Presbyterians." Sir Thomas Middleton, of Chirk Castle, joined with him. In the month of August in that year, Sir George Booth appeared at the head of a small force hastily collected, and marched upon Chester, of which he took military possession. He published a manifesto, in which he says, that "since God had suffered the spirit of division to continue in this nation, which was left without any settled foundation of religion, liberty and property, the legitimate power usurped at pleasure, the army raised at their expense misled by their superior officers, and no face of government remaining that was lawfully constituted," they had therefore taken up arms in vindication of the freedom of Parliament, &c., but without the least

* This movement was on the 12th of August, known at Derby by the name of 'White's Friday.' Colonel White appeared in the town, declaring against the usurping powers, and was supported by all the ministers in the town, except one.

mention of any design to bring back the king. That he rose with that design is however sufficiently manifest by two commissions from the king, dated the 22nd of July and the 9th of August, by which he was constituted commander-in-chief of all forces raised for His Majesty's service in Cheshire, Lancashire and North Wales*. It was principally through the influence of Mr. Cook, a Presbyterian minister at Chester, that Sir George Booth was admitted into that city, which was a strong garrison town, just as a few months later general Monk owed his ready admission into York in a great measure to another minister, Mr. Edward Bowles†. Many of the ministers both in Cheshire and Lancashire were privy to Sir George Booth's intentions, and favourers of his design. But the movement was premature. Lambert was sent against him with a body of disciplined troops, and Sir George Booth imprudently marching out of Chester, was defeated at Winnington-bridge, near Northwich, his army entirely routed, and himself soon after taken prisoner. The whole was over in nineteen days. Nothing but the strength of a disciplined army like that commanded by Monk could have brought back the king in triumph.

The reports of the loss of his friends which reached Mr. Heywood were appalling: but, in fact, Lambert acted with great moderation, which I add on the testimony of a minister who was in the secret of the rising before it took place, but who deemed it the more prudent part not to appear in it.—“And though it went on to a battle, yet Lambert, whatever were his ends, was not

* The reader is particularly referred to *The Peerage of England*, 8vo, 1735, vol. ii. p. 479, 480, for documents which throw a strong light on Sir George Booth's intentions in this movement.

† On this important event in the history of the king's restoration I may be permitted to observe, that there is by far the fullest and most particular information ever given to the public, in a narrative written by Sir Philip Monckton, which the late Lord Galway kindly allowed me to insert in *The History of the Deanery of Doncaster*, fol. 1831, vol. ii. p. 416.

eager to shed blood. He took off his men from pursuing the foot, which they would soon have ruined, saying, 'Alas! poor men, they are forced and hired;' and sent them after the horse, which were better fitted to escape, and to them also free quarter was given when they fell into their enemies' hands*." The whole number of the slain did not exceed thirty; and thus ended the first Presbyterian movement towards the restoration of the king, and with it of ecclesiastical order and stable government. It was the first and only time in which persons who were on both sides of the Puritan family were arrayed in the field against each other.

Most of the Presbyterian ministers who had been forward in this affair, or were suspected of being concerned in it, were seized: Mr. Cook, Mr. Harrison, and Mr. Joshua Kirby, the lecturer of Wakefield, were placed in prison at Lambeth. Mr. Newcome, Mr. Robert Seddon, Mr. Henry Finch, Mr. John Crompton, and Mr. James Bradshaw, all Lancashire ministers, are said by Calamy to have been favourers of the design. Mr. Newcome was ever after an intimate friend of the Booths, who were soon after the Restoration raised to the peerage. Mr. Angier was prudent: "He stayed at home," says Mr. Heywood, "though his heart and prayers were that way, and he foresaw the event." Mr. Philip Henry wrote thus in his private diary: "Lord, own them if they truly own thee!" and when he was blamed by some persons for not giving thanks publicly for the defeat of Sir George Booth, he answered, that "his apprehensions concerning that affair were not the same with theirs: we are now much in the dark, never more†."

* MS. Life of Martindale.

† See *Life of Mr. Philip Henry*, 12mo, 1698, p. 65. He was the father of Matthew Henry, a name better known as being the author of an 'Exposition on the Scriptures', which continues to be highly valued. The name of Henry was exchanged for that of Warburton by the son of Matthew Henry; but the male line has been long extinct, while the descendants of the elder Henry are exceedingly

The natural effect of this movement was, that the two parties in the Puritan body should be still further estranged, and their jealousies and animosities become more bitter. It was now quite evident to the Independent mind that the Presbyterians looked to something more than the mere establishment of their own principles and the ascendancy of their own party, and that it was nothing less than bringing back the king and restoring a national church, either in the Episcopal or Presbyterian form, or in some form in which the two systems might be united, which to some persons of those times appeared practicable, among whom was Archbishop Usher. The authorities then in power required that public thanks should be given for the suppression of Sir George Booth's insurrection. This was an ensnaring matter for the Presbyterians.

The bitter feeling which this movement occasioned was not confined to the parts of the kingdom which were the particular scene of it; it extended to the neighbouring counties: and we must now relate what happened to Mr. Heywood, and it shall be done in his own words, giving the few facts and his own reflections:—

“While we were consulting an accommodation suitable to the uniting of godly parties on both sides in our neighbour county, in comes an overflowing deluge in the state that promotes divisions in the church. Sir George Booth with many other gentlemen, pleading their liberty to sit and vote in parliament with the rest of their members then sitting at Westminster, at last took up arms in Cheshire; with whom the Presbyterians generally acceded and consented, and the Independents took the other side throughout the nation; which as it rendered all former endeavours fruitless and an agreement almost hopeless, so it set a vast distance amongst

numerous, and most of them have remained members of the Presbyterian body of dissenters, to which some of them have been both a support and ornament.

us in this congregation : many of our adversaries being deeply engaged in the late defection, thought they were bound in conscience (or from what principle or end they did it I know not) prosecuted against me as one of those they looked upon as traitors and rebels. Yet, whatever their ends were (the Lord knows, I shall not judge), but this I know, they dealt most injuriously with me, as though they intended to trepan me. They came to discourse with me, pretendedly in love and friendship, and got what they could out of me in state-affairs. And then, when they saw their opportunity, threatened they had in writing a charge against me uttered unawares by my own lips. And their own jealousy helped them to invent other things wherein they imagined I was guilty, though far otherwise ; and I may truly say, as in the presence of God, they laid to my charge things that I knew not, nor did they ever enter into my thoughts ; they wrested my words, and when I desired liberty to be mine own interpreter, if it were contrary to their groundless surmisings, they called and accounted me a liar. They condemned me without trial, and when a considerable appearance of my people came to own me at a meeting, they would scarce give them or me leave to speak in my behalf ; some of them openly contradicted me by sending a note to me in the middle of my sermon to distract me, though, blessed be God, it prevailed not to do me much hurt. They trampled scornfully upon me, as scarce worthy to live, some of them saying they could not tell how to trust their bodies with me, much less their souls ; that they could not sit down under any man's ministry that would not obey authority, though themselves were the most disobedient, changing them at their pleasure many times in a year if they suited not their ambitious and covetous humours, and though they could never charge me with disturbing the peace in word or action. But this I must confess, I could never say, Amen, to their prodigiously irregular actings, nor act against my conscience, for I must obey God rather than

men. I could not, durst not, dissemble with God and man, in giving God thanks for what I was convinced was real matter of humiliation. I kept in the compass of my place and calling, and was freely content to be passive in suffering the penalty inflicted for the breach of their new-made laws; yea, such was their carriage towards me that their own party elsewhere disclaimed them, and were ashamed of them, and voted some of them blameworthy in a church-meeting, and the country did so ring thereof that the reproach thereof will never be wiped off. Truth it is, that this was such a provoking occasion (the circumstances considered) for the commotion of my spirit as I never had before, that I could very ill brook or bear, and I found great need of special grace and an opportunity to practise some of the hardest lessons in Christianity,—to bear injuries without desire of avenging myself, to suffer grievous indignities patiently without animosity, when wrongfully imposed to forgive freely, pray for such as despitefully used me, to love mine enemies, and to overcome evil with good, &c. I never knew what those lessons meant till now, and I may say by sweet experience the Lord helped me in these cases in good measure. By the help of grace I have not used perverse reflections against them in public, nor did it yet enter my thoughts to do them the least hurt, if I had them in my power; nay, I can truly say, the more they wronged me, the more I prayed for them.

“About the same time we had sharp trials. My wife was brought to bed of a third son, and when she had lyen but two days I was taken prisoner by a party of horse sent from Col. Lilburne, and I was taken to Brigge-house, but by the mediation of divers of my neighbours who undertook for me, I was released, after I had been among the unruly soldiers one night; and within that fortnight, my little son Nathaniel died, Aug. 24, 1659; and the sad news of our dear friends' and countrymen's killing and dispersing was more bitter than all the rest. At which time these men triumphed

over us with intolerable pride ; threatened sequestration, shot off a pistol by our window, and had once, *tantum non* driven me from my dear people. Once, indeed, I did resolve to go within a day or two, but being better advised, I thought it best to abide their trial, for I knew myself not guilty, no not in the breach of their own laws. But God hath his times and seasons in clearing up the innocency of his people ; he hath wonderfully owned the cause of his afflicted people, and rescued both out of the furious hands of one extreme that sought the destruction of ministry and ordinances under the notion of sanctity. And though in eschewing Scylla, we be now fallen upon Charybdis, yet God will fully reckon with and totally subvert the professed haters of the power of godliness, especially when he hath accomplished his reconciling work upon the hearts of his people, and effected all his other works upon Mount Zion. Satan is come down and hath great rage because his time is short ; and short I hope it will be, for he hath promised that for the elect's sake those days shall be shortened, yet sharp it may be, for God hath a sad reckoning with us."

I shall add one passage more from Mr. Heywood's reflections at this period on the state to which the prevalence of Independency, and the encouragement which the Independents gave to lay-preaching, had brought the country :—

“ Oh, what a blow hath true religion sustained, under pretence of harmless opinions about mere circumstantial points, whereas they raze the foundations ! We were weary of monarchy, but shall be more weary of anarchy. Is there no one to sit at the helm of the ship of our poor commonwealth, but an army of rude unruly and contentious soldiers ? The sword of justice is drawn to support injustice, and the power of authority encourages such as do evil, and discourages those that do well. Were not ministers once the chariots and horsemen, the strength and beauty of our English Israel ; but are they not now the scorn and offscouring of this world ? Those

silly ignorant people, that admired at learning and almost worshipped scholars, now trample all under their feet, and would have universities demolished, literature banished, and darkness introduced. Do we not see illiterate, haughty and presumptuous soldiers and artificers perched up in congregations and without controul oppose sound doctrine, sow tares, and teach the people to despise and malign the pious, prudent, faithful, peaceable and learnedly religious pastors?"

En queis consevimus agros! The true lesson which these reflections teach is, that it is the wisdom of those who desire nothing more than that peace and justice shall have their abode in the land of their birth and their delight, but above all of scholars and those who cultivate what are especially arts of peace, rather to acquiesce in a little evil that may be perceived in the political state, whether civil or ecclesiastical, which has been long established, trusting to the silent power of time to remove it, than to open the way to a worse tyranny by endangering its stability. Whether the oppression of the Puritans under the early Stuarts was sufficient to justify revolt, when the Puritans themselves acted at least as oppressively to the loyal episcopal clergy, may be questioned; but there can be no question that the state of things which Mr. Heywood describes was very dearly purchased by the dreadful havoc and misery which the civil wars occasioned*.

* I cannot forbear inserting in this page a beautiful passage from Fuller, though it has been so often quoted. Speaking of the death of Mr. John Dodd in 1645, he says, "He was buried at Fawsley, in Northamptonshire; with whom the *old Puritan* may seem to expire, and in his grave to be interred: humble, meek, patient, hospitable, charitable, as in his censure of, so in his alms to, others. Would I could truly say but half so much of the next generation!" This was written in 1653.—*Church History*, book xi. p. 220.

Let scholars, and especially theological scholars of the Liberal school, read what happened to Hales of Eton, in those times. He was brought down from his moderate competence to "bread and beer," and little more which he obtained by the sale of his library, being, as is pleasantly said by his biographer, Dr. Pearson, "a true

But when such were the reflections of Mr. Heywood, who had been nursed in political and religious disaffection, what must have been the thoughts of those, many of them, it cannot be denied, worthy and pious persons, as they were also refined and learned, who had been turned out of their stations in the Church, and were condemned to a perpetual silence? and when we thus arrive at a knowledge of what was passing in the interior of a mind like his, we are prepared to find the enlightened and worthier part of the population concurring in a wish for the return of the exiled king, and for the burst of joy, such as was never before witnessed in England, welcoming him to our shores. The following were the private reflections of Mr. Heywood when he heard that General Monk had declared for the king, and that the king's arrival was every day expected:—

“Lift up thine eyes, my soul! and behold the face of things abroad. After a dark and gloomy winter comes a heart-reviving spring. What a change has been effected in half a year! Surely there is a gracious moving wheel of Providence in all these vicissitudes. Usurpers have had the seat of jurisdiction, have held the reins in their hands, and driven on furiously these twelve years. They commanded a toleration of all but truly tender consciences, cast off parliaments of their own appointment at their pleasure, and threatened sequestration for all who would not fall down and worship the golden image of their invention.”—“Strange events have happened between September 1659 and May 1660. God is in the heavens and doeth whatsoever pleaseth him; he hath glorified his great name, vindicated his truth and promises, and encouraged his people. He hath restored our civil rights, and given us the hope of a just settlement.”

The feeling which is thus expressed by Mr. Heywood

Helluo of books.” But what is worse than their own personal fate, the great interests which the scholar has at heart are amongst the first things to be sacrificed to the young ambition which arises out of the opportunities which have been unthinkingly afforded it.

was common to the great body of ministers with whom he is to be classed. They were weary of military rule and of ecclesiastical irregularity. Of Philip Henry it is said, by the writer of his Life, that "He was a hearty well-wisher to the return of the king, and was much affected with the mercy of it;" and it is added, "His sense of that great mercy of God to the nation in the unbloody, peaceable and legal settlement of King Charles the Second upon the throne was the same with that of multitudes besides, both ministers and others, that were of the *quiet in the land*." The Manchester Classis directed that the 24th of March, 1660, should be observed as a solemn day of thanksgiving for the wonderful changes and deliverances which were looked for from the declaration of General Monk. Mr. Newcome addressed the people of Manchester in a strain of vehement invective against the persons who had abolished monarchy for their own selfish ends, and nearly destroyed religion itself, ending with an exhortation to be temperate and Christian in their joy: "He that hath caused it toward evening to be light, can make our sun set at noon. Labour to be Christians still, and to carry like Christians under this wonderful mercy; for the Christian hath not had the least hand in the procuring of it." This sermon he printed, and dedicated to the then leading Presbyterians in Lancashire, Sir George Booth, Sir Ralph Ashton, and Richard Holland, esquire, of Denton.

Mr. Heyrick preached on the day of the king's coronation, from the words, "And he brought forth the king's son, and put the crown upon him, and gave him the testimony, and they made him king and anointed him; and they clapped their hands and said, God save the king!"—"You see," said he, "what the want of a king is, and by that you will the better judge of the blessedness and happiness of the people that have a king; kingly government is the best government for order, peace and strength."

Mr. Nathaniel Heywood preached at Ormskirk on the

day of the thanksgiving for the king's Restoration, from 2 Sam. xix. 30, "And Mephibosheth said unto the king, Yea, let him take all, forasmuch as my lord the king is come again in peace unto his own house."

I have been the more abundant in my citations and references on this subject, because an opinion very generally prevails among the present representatives of the persons whose principles and conduct we are considering, that they were in politics against kingly government, and in ecclesiastics against a national church. Nothing however can be further from the truth. The mistake has arisen from confounding the fathers of Presbyterian dissent with the fathers of Independent or Congregational dissent and the members of the different sects who sprung up under the Independent rule. They undoubtedly preferred the government, or rather anarchy, from which England was delivered at the Restoration; but the Presbyterians looked upon that event as a relief from an unsettled, turbulent and oppressive usurpation, when the power shifted from hand to hand every few months, at the will of an ignorant soldiery, and as bringing back security and order. There was nothing in Mr. Heyrick's eloquent discourse which was really inconsistent with the principles of himself and his party, who had taken up arms, not to destroy the monarchy, but to fix upon it certain wholesome constitutional restraints, and not to destroy the church, but to make it more efficient in respect of the great interests contemplated in its institution. That they had failed, and only let in a body of fanatics and usurpers, is but the usual fate of well-meaning persons who commit themselves to the chances of great political change.

CHAPTER VII.

DISAPPOINTMENT OF THE PRESBYTERIANS.—POLICY OF THE COURT.—RETURN OF THE ROYALIST CLERGY.—MANY PURITAN MINISTERS ALLOWED TO RETAIN THEIR CURES.—PROCLAMATION AGAINST CONVENTICLES.—AFFECTS MR. HEYWOOD.—PROHIBITED FROM BAPTIZING.—REFUSES TO USE THE COMMON PRAYER.—HIS ENEMIES IN HIS CHAPELRY.—CITATIONS TO YORK.—DR. WITTIE.—LADY WATSON.—HIS REFLECTIONS ON CATHEDRAL SERVICES.—UNSETTLED STATE OF ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.—SETTLEMENT BY THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY.—CHIEF PROVISIONS OF THE ACT.—DIFFICULTIES OF THE PURITAN MINISTRY IN COMPLYING WITH THE TERMS OF MINISTERIAL CONFORMITY.—THE TWO THOUSAND “BARTHOLOMEAN WORTHIES.”—PRIVATE AND FAMILY CIRCUMSTANCES AT THE TIME.—THE ELDEST BROTHER.—MR. HEYWOOD CEASES TO BE THE PUBLIC MINISTER AT COLEY.

WE are now approaching what may be regarded as the great crisis of Puritanism.

The course which the public policy of the realm took on the return of King Charles the Second was in all respects disappointing and most discouraging to every branch of the Puritan family; but it was especially mortifying to the Presbyterians, who were still the most numerous, substantial and valuable part of that family, to see themselves confounded with the wild sects which had sprung from them in the preceding period and subjected to the same rigorous measures, and to find no sense entertained of their services in promoting the restoration of the monarchy, and not the slightest disposition to condescend to any of their scruples or their opinions in the new settlement which it was necessary to make of the ecclesiastical affairs of the English nation.

They seem to have entertained the expectation of

something very different, and they conceived that the terms of the king's declaration at Breda authorized them to do so ; but it must have been sufficiently manifest that, after the experience of the last twenty or thirty years, means would be taken to secure the nation from the possibility of another outbreak ; and the terms of the declaration, which go not beyond a qualified and limited indulgence of diversity of religious opinion and practice, would be little regarded when once the national mind was directed to the consideration of the mighty question, in what way ecclesiastical affairs should be conducted for the time to come ? Their hope of seeing their favourite project of a Presbyterian Establishment carried out, they must have at once abandoned ; the country did not go with them in the design, as had been proved during the short time in which they were in the ascendant, and no sovereign will ever prefer a Presbyterian to an Episcopal church, which is at once an ornament and support to the monarchy, as it is also really a strong defence of the people, throwing, as it does, the broad shield of Christianity between them and the oppressor. The utmost they could rationally expect was some kind of union of the two forms ; but whether the elements of the two systems admit of being united, it was too much to expect that the attempt would be made when the king was all-powerful, so great was the enthusiasm with which he was received, and there were so many who longed to see the pure Protestant Church re-established in the frame in which the Reformers had left it.

There can be little doubt that it was the determination of the king's advisers from the beginning to effect the restoration of that church, but they proceeded with great seeming moderation and the appearance of a conciliatory spirit. Two years passed between the king's restoration and the final arrangement of ecclesiastical affairs. In that time occurred the Conference at the Savoy, which resembled the Conference at Hampton Court, and ended like that in contempt for the Puritan scruples.

The Puritan clergy were received at court with civility, and very tempting offers were made to some of them of stations of eminence in the church. Baxter, who came from the Welsh border, was offered the bishopric of Worcester; Gilpin, a northern man, was offered the bishopric of Carlisle, which he declined, and was afterwards the Presbyterian minister of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Only Reynolds, who was made bishop of Norwich, forsook his party in this crisis of its fate to accept the episcopal dignity.

But while the persons who were at the head of public affairs were proceeding with a certain amount of deliberation and apparent disposition to conciliate, there was a general movement among the clergy who had been displaced in the late times, and were still alive to rejoice in the change which had taken place. The surviving bishops resumed their sees, the deans and other cathedral dignitaries their stalls, and the parochial clergy returned to the parishes from which they had been driven. In these cases, the Puritan ministers by whom they had been replaced in the Commonwealth times were obliged to give way, and it does not appear that they could reasonably complain of this. They attempted, indeed, to draw a distinction between ministers who had in the late times been removed for political delinquency only, and those who had been declared by the parliamentary commissioners to have been unworthy of their benefices, as being "ignorant and scandalous;" but this was overruled; and surely it was but fair to assume that sixteen years of adversity had produced some change for the better, and that another trial should be allowed of ministerial sufficiency. The number was very considerable of the ministers who returned.

Where the incumbent who had been removed was dead, the ministers in possession of the benefices were allowed to retain them without being subjected to any inquiry into the manner in which they were put in possession. This was an important condescension to the

Puritan ministry, and it seems to have been granted equally to the Presbyterian, the Independent, and the Anabaptist ; but then it could be considered as only a temporary measure, as it cannot be doubted that it was determined to restore the Episcopal Church almost immediately with the authority of parliament, when terms of communion would be required with which it was known that few of them could comply.

Mr. Heywood's case came within the scope of this condescension, for there was no one to set up any claim to his little benefice at Coley. It was the same with his brother at Ormskirk, who had indeed the presentation of the Countess of Derby, widow of the unfortunate earl, the true and undoubted patron, as well as the approbation of the commissioners for the admission of public preachers. But Mr. Nathaniel Heywood lost at this time his appointment of one of the four itinerating ministers of Lancashire, with its income of 50*l.* a-year, which gave occasion to a shrewd taunt of the adversary, alluding to his restoration text, "Let him take all." An amusing collection might be made of the texts selected by the divines of this period, and of all sides, for their political sermons. Mr. Johnson, who returned to claim his fellowship in the church of Manchester, on his re-appearance in the pulpit, addressed the congregation from the words of the 129th Psalm, "The ploughers ploughed upon my back ; they made long their furrows : the Lord is righteous ; he hath cut asunder the cords of the wicked." Mr. Wright, the vicar of Ecclesfield in the south of Yorkshire, a milder man, on resuming possession of his beautiful church and extensive parish, took his text from another Psalm, "He that goeth forth and weepeth bearing precious seed shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him ;" and continued to enjoy the benefice from which he had been harshly removed (for I have some reason for believing that he was an excellent Christian minister) more than thirty years.

The resuming of their churches by the clergy whom the parliamentary commissioners had removed, could not always be effected without unedifying scenes being exhibited. There was a story current at Halifax in Mr. Watson's time, that Dr. Marsh, the ejected vicar, made his appearance in the church one Sunday morning soon after Mr. Bentley had commenced his service, and marching up the aisle with the Book of Common Prayer under his arm, removed Mr. Bentley from the desk in the face of the congregation, and conducted the service in the ancient manner. Dr. Marsh was soon succeeded by Dr. Richard Hooke, a firm, able, and zealous churchman, and probably on that account placed in this important situation by the Crown, in whose gift it was.

But though Mr. Heywood was for the present quieted in the possession of his chapel of Coley, he soon felt the effects of the change of the times.

There was an apparent moderation in the proceedings of those who directed public affairs, but still there was enough to show the Puritan ministry that impediments would be placed in their way. Advantage was taken of a frenzied insurrection of a few persons in the utmost extreme of Puritanism, who were called Fifth Monarchists, to issue a proclamation prohibiting conventicles, or small assemblies of persons in private houses, for the purpose of religious conference, hearing the word and prayer. This was very hard upon the more sober part of the Puritans, to whom these meetings were refreshing to their spirits; and it cannot be denied that the political evil attending them was as nothing compared with the support which they gave to the influence of a devotional and Christian spirit through the land. Such a proclamation plainly showed that the authorities of the time were looking upon the whole subject in a point of view merely worldly, and in a spirit which would sacrifice the interests of religion and morality to merely temporal security. This was the first of a long series of similar acts in the same spirit. Mr. Heywood notices

it thus :—“ This day, January 23, 1660-1, we had designed to meet together for fasting and prayer in private, but are prevented by a declaration from authority. The truth is, our dread sovereign, at the first and hitherto, hath allowed us abundant liberty for religious exercise both in public and private, but his clemency has been abused, which has occasioned this severe and universal prohibition. The fanatical and schismatical party, truly so called, have by their unwise and unwarrantable practices troubled all the people of God throughout this nation, and have rendered the sweet savour of Christian converse to be abhorred.” Here is a spirit of acquiescence and submission as profound as any friend to the prerogative could desire of any man, and a very innocent view of the measures of the court.

Indeed it appears but too plainly that the Puritan ministers saw but imperfectly either their own actual position, or the intentions of the court and parliament concerning them. They had never sought to cultivate the wisdom of this world, by which they might have combated with a better chance of success the politicians of the time who possessed it in abundance. In fact they were confounded and baffled at every turn. Their better praise is, that they had the wisdom which cometh from above, and this cannot be denied them.

The next inconvenience which Mr. Heywood found, originated nearer home. He was considering the question of the baptism of infants of scandalous parents, and had found himself more perplexed than instructed by the arguments on that point of Baxter, to whom the Presbyterians of that time and long after looked up for direction, when he was surprised by an order from the vicar of Halifax to forbear baptizing at all. This was not directed against himself in particular, but was addressed to all the curates throughout the vicarage, it being the vicar's intention that all children should be brought for baptism to the parish church. Mr. Heywood, with less than his usual candour, attributed the order to an avidity

for fees. He continued to perform the ordinance, paying over the accustomed dues to the parish-church.

The next was a more serious difficulty.

In these two unsettled years there was no uniformity in the manner in which the public religious services were conducted in the churches and chapels of the realm. It appears to have been left to the minister who was in actual possession to conduct the services at his own discretion, or as could be agreed upon between himself and the people. The restored ministers would of course bring back the use of the Book of Common Prayer; the Puritan ministers would adhere to the form of the Directory, in which the minister was at full liberty, in the devotional parts of the service. The difficulty was in cases in which the minister was of one mind, and the people, or a considerable number of them, of another: and this was the case in Mr. Heywood's chapelry. There was a party who earnestly desired that the Common Prayer should be restored at Coley, as it had been in the parish-church and in some of the other chapels. At the head of this party was Stephen Ellis, of Hipperholm, a person of the best account for property of those who resided in the chapelry, and, as far as anything appears, a respectable man; zealous however in his own way, as Mr. Heywood was in his. At his suggestion, and with the concurrence of some other persons, the book was brought to Mr. Heywood as he was about to commence the service in his usual manner. This was on Sunday the 25th of August, 1661. Mr. Heywood asked the person who presented it by what authority he did so; but to this no reply was made, the person contenting himself with laying it on the cushion of the pulpit. Mr. Heywood took it quietly down, and having laid it in the lower pulpit (the reading-desk, which it would appear from this anecdote he did not use, but conducted the whole service in the pulpit, as has been the usual practice of the successors of the Presbyterian ministers since), went on with the service in his usual

manner. "I was wonderfully assisted that day in praying and preaching, so as many were amazed, as since they have told me; and it satisfies me I did but my duty in what I did, upon my former convictions."

There was something of the insolent humour attributed to the people of this parish in the mode in which the party proceeded; but in respect of the main question, there was no very clear right on either side. It cannot be denied that Ellis and his friends had a claim to a reasonable share of the direction of parish affairs in this particular, nor can it be denied that in the then unsettled state of the church Mr. Heywood might consult his own judgment on what it was proper to do. He could not, however, contend for his own right of enforcing his own views on this subject upon his people without setting up the principle of clerical imposition, which had been so much complained of by the Puritans from the beginning.

In such an incident as this we see the absolute necessity of some third party who can determine with authority questions such as these, which must, from the nature of things, perpetually arise in religious communities, and which, in point of fact, have arisen on this very subject of the comparative value of free prayer and a liturgical form in many dissenting congregations. Mr. Ellis appealed to such a party. At his suggestion, William Greenwood, an attorney, who had lately become an inhabitant of the chapelry, applied to the Consistory Court at York for a citation to Mr. Heywood to appear and answer the said Greenwood*.

The citation was served on the 13th of September.

* Greenwood was a Skipton man, who had recently become connected with Coley by his marriage with the widow of one of the Whitleys of Cinderhills, near the Chapel, a debauched and profligate family of good property. The shocking deaths of persecutors has been in all ages a favourite topic with Christian writers. Both husband and wife died in consequence of being thrown from horseback a few years after,—she in 1664, and he in 1668. The Whitleys had suffered by sequestrations in the preceding times.

It was the first case of the kind. Mr. Heywood was advised to appear, that he might not be excommunicated for contempt. As he journeyed towards York he met accidentally with old Elkana Wales, who had long been the Puritan minister in the chapel of Pudsey, and his son-in-law, James Sales, another minister of the same character. They gave him every encouragement to defend what he had done. On his arrival at York he went immediately to the Minster, where the Court was then sitting in the accustomed place on the north side. They were engaged with other affairs, but the attention of the whole Court was turned on Mr. Heywood the moment he was announced. He was asked if he had chosen a proctor, and on his replying, that he was there in person to answer any charge which might be made against him; he was told that he might go his way, and appear again that day three weeks. This might be only a form of the Court, but it appears unreasonable and oppressive, as does also their refusal to communicate to him the charge on which he was cited.

There came up to him in the Minster, Dr. Robert Wittie, the physician, who was then residing at York, the author of certain singular books in prose and verse. He strongly exhorted Mr. Heywood to stand firm, as an example to other ministers who might be troubled in the same manner.

Lady Watson, one of the "elect Ladies," of whom there were several at that time at York*, great favour-

* Lady Watson was the widow of a lord mayor, Stephen Watson, who twice filled the office in the Parliament times,—1646 and 1656; and held her rank according to the tenor of the old York saw:—

" My lord is a lord for a year and a day,
But my lady's my lady for ever and aye."

We shall meet, as we proceed, with two other ladies at York whose rank was of the same kind,—Lady Hewet and Lady Hoyle. Lady Hewley, another of the ladies of York who gave encouragement to the Non-Conforming ministry, somewhat younger than those I have named, was the wife and widow of a knight, Sir John Hewley, who was some time member for the city.

ers of the Puritan ministry, wrote to Mr. Heywood, soon after his return home, intimating to him that the Court had no authority in his case, and advising him to take no notice of their citations. Instead, therefore, of appearing again at the end of the three weeks, he took a journey into Lancashire. On his return he found a second citation, of which he took no notice. A third citation came, to which he did appear. Of what passed on this occasion he gives no particular account, and only says that "they dismissed him with promises of a fair audience the next time." The issue of all was, that he was suspended from exercising his ministry in the diocese of York on the ground of non-appearance and contempt. The suspension was published in the church of Halifax on Sunday, June 29, 1662. On that day he took solemn leave of his people at Coley: "on which occasion," he says, "he saw more strong workings of affection and tears of sorrow than he had ever before seen in public." Everything shows how much he was beloved by many, and how influential his ministry must have been on them.

This suspension did but a little anticipate his separation from his beloved people; for the Act by which the Church was settled in a form in which he could not appear as a minister, had before that time received the royal assent, and would in a few weeks come into complete operation.

One passage from his auto-biographical remains, relating to his visits to York, must not be omitted, it is so characteristic, and shows how truly he was the son of the woman who demolished the relics of superstition in the places of religion around Bolton: "My heart was much grieved when I saw the fond way of worship used by them, as I passed by the door, where they were then at work. Divers I saw with white surplices, and red tippets upon their backs; their worshipping towards the east at singing *Gloria Patri*; their singing the Lord's Prayer and Creed; and resounding of the organs;

all which they use: though I stayed not then to see and hear all, yet I saw enough to make me hate vain inventions, and to love God's perfect word and pure worship better; to pity and pray for them that mangle and trifle with the holy things of God, and turn them into a mere formality; to desire after and to delight in the pure and wholesome waters of the sanctuary, and worshipping my God in spirit and in truth." Good:—if the worship which he witnessed were mere formality; and undoubtedly, however the hearers may be affected, it is to be feared that there is not always a corresponding sentiment in the hearts of those who make the sweet melody: and this was possibly all that Mr. Heywood meant. To have extended his reflection further, would have been but to act in the spirit of those who represent the singular aspects of some of the old Puritans when engaged in their way of worship as assumed and artificial. It is but right to admit, that in both the true spirit of devotion may be found. As to the magnificent scene around him, he appears to have been wholly unimpressed by it, whether as a creation of taste and skill, or as a temple raised to the honour of the living God, and dedicated to his service*.

* I have before had occasion to speak of the insensibility of the Puritan mind to the impressive effect of the places in England of old consecrated to the purposes of Christianity; but let it not be supposed that this insensibility is common to their descendants and present representatives. Who admires more the surpassing edifice of which we are speaking than my reverend tutor, the Presbyterian minister at York? I have also now before me a letter from an older Presbyterian minister whom I knew in my youth, born in 1728, and the great-grandson of Mr. Dawson, one of the ejected Puritan ministers, the neighbour and very intimate friend of Mr. Heywood, in which he says:—"We reached York about four, and amused ourselves for more than two hours in viewing the cathedral. I was scarce ever so pleased with any structure. Other buildings of this nature fill the mind with awe; this filled mine with reverence and delight. It is at the same time light and airy, great and magnificent. I could have stayed among the dead and works of antiquity much longer with solemn pleasure." Shall I not add, that these were the sentiments, written in 1778, of the Rev. Joseph Evans,

The new settlement of the English Church was done in Parliament, which is in effect to say, that it was the result of the solemn expression of the national will by its admitted organs,—the king, the privy-council, the lords spiritual and temporal, the knights of the shires, and the burgesses. To call this settlement the act of the king or of the bishops, is to make a most important mistake respecting it: it was the act of the national will as much as any public measure in that or any subsequent Parliament (except so far as the recent Reform Act may be said to give to the decisions of Parliament more of the character of being expressions of national determination),—the issue of the struggle of conflicting parties, in which the Puritan party found itself in the minority. Neither was the Act the erection of a Church; it but reinstated the Church as it had existed long before, after its temporary overthrow.

This memorable Act is the 12th and 13th Charles II. chap. 4, and is entitled “An Act for the Uniformity of Public Prayers and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies, and for establishing the form of making, ordaining, and consecrating Bishops, Priests, and Deacons in the Church of England.” It received the royal assent on May 17, 1662, but it allowed to ministers in possession of the benefices, to the 24th of August following, to ponder over the terms of Conformity. This was the feast-day of Saint Bartholomew, already made remarkable in the annals of ecclesiastical reformation by the massacre at Paris in the reign of Charles the Ninth.

The following are the chief provisions of the Act:—

(1.) One uniform service, and no other, to be used in all churches and chapels throughout the realm; which

for thirty-eight years the Presbyterian minister at Sheffield, a gentleman to whom I and my family owe the highest obligations? He was the executor of my grandfather, the guardian of my father; and to me a wise instructor, a kind and generous friend; a father, in every sense but one.

service shall be that of the Book of Common Prayer, published in the first year of Queen Elizabeth, with the slight alterations which had recently been made in it.

(2.) Every minister holding any ecclesiastical benefice or promotion, to read publicly in his church or chapel the said Common Prayer, before the feast of Saint Bartholomew then next ensuing, and in the presence of the congregation to declare his unfeigned assent and consent to everything contained in and prescribed by the said Book, on penalty of immediate deprivation.

(3.) Every person in holy orders, and every schoolmaster, to subscribe a declaration that "it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatever, to take arms against the king; and that they abhor the traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person; that they will conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England; that they hold that no obligation lies upon them from the oath called the Solemn League and Covenant, but that they regard it as an unlawful oath, and imposed upon the subjects of the realm against the known laws and liberties of the kingdom*."

(4.) No schoolmaster to teach without a licence from the bishop.

(5.) No person to hold any benefice or spiritual promotion who had not received episcopal ordination; and if any such person were already in possession of any church or chapel, he was, *ipso facto*, declared to be deprived of it, and the patron might proceed to appoint a person duly qualified.

(6.) Lecturers or preachers to declare their assent to the Thirty-nine Articles mentioned in the Statute of the 13th of Elizabeth, and no lectures or preachings to be had without the use of the Common Prayer.

(7.) Any person not episcopally ordained administering the Lord's Supper, to be liable to the penalty of one hundred pounds.

* The abjuration of the Solemn League and Covenant was to cease on the 25th of March, 1682.

It is evident, therefore, that all the Puritan objections to the Church as it existed before the wars remained in full force, and that it was determined to compel conformity even to the minutest point in gesture, vestments, and ceremonies.

The Book of Common Prayer remained without any alteration, except in a few very trifling matters, and these made it not in any degree more acceptable to the Puritans.

The use of it was made imperative, and there was therefore an end to the exercise of free prayer in the public assemblies.

No preaching of unordained persons was to be allowed, and no kind of ordination admitted as valid except that by bishops.

Abjuration was required of an oath which had been taken by nearly all the ministers then in possession of the benefices ; and another oath was imposed involving the most complete surrender that could be made of the liberty of the subject into the hands of the crown. That ultimate right of resistance is rarely to be mentioned, and even to be rarely thought upon ; but it cannot be formally given up without converting a constitutional monarchy into a despotism ; and so the nation at large seems to have thought, when in the next generation they abolished this oath and substituted for it the oath of due allegiance.

In all this there was much which made it extremely difficult for persons who had been educated in Puritan principles, and who had that nice and scrupulous conscience which a religious education usually produces, to comply with the terms of ministerial communion which were held out to them. To have accepted them, and so remained in the stations which they held in the Church, would have been to have renounced every principle for which they had been contending, and to sanction a system of national worship and ecclesiastical discipline which they in their consciences did not regard as sufficiently

scriptural, or as conducive of the interests of either sound morality or pure religion in the land.

The requirement of re-ordination was one to which the younger ministers, such as Mr. Heywood, could not bring themselves to submit without in effect declaring Presbyterian ordination invalid, and without, by submitting to the ordinance *twice*, approaching the confines of profaneness. They regarded it also as leading them in effect to condemn the ordination of the foreign Protestant Churches, which was almost universally practised in the manner in which they had received it, and to put in question the validity of the ordinances administered by them, by which in those times many minds would have been greatly disturbed. This with respect to the Presbyterian; the Independent could consent to receive no ordination from any minister at all; and the Anabaptist agreed in this point in the main with the Independent, superadding the necessity of adult baptism.

This point of re-ordination, it is manifest, struck also at the seat of honour, if considerations of that kind could have any place in deliberations concerning such high matter as this. It impugned the conduct of their reverend fathers in the ministry, proclaimed the solemn service an empty form, and brought, more forcibly than anything else, home upon their minds the thought from whence they had fallen.

The Presbyterian ministers, or, to speak more generally, the Puritan ministers, were thus placed in a position of great difficulty; they must either condescend to renounce in a public and solemn manner all the peculiar opinions in which they had been educated; declare, as to most of them, the ordination which they had received to be invalid, thinking it not only otherwise but eminently scriptural; submit to an oath which struck at the very foundations of the liberties of their country; and place themselves under a perpetual restraint in their public ministrations by reading, where before they had been accustomed to pour out their hearts in devout ex-

pression:—or they must abandon the stations in which they were placed, cease to minister to a people with whom their hearts were united, and throw themselves upon the world without a profession, and consequently, as to most of them, without the usual means of support. That so many of them chose the latter alternative, is a striking proof of the reality of their previous professions, and an animating instance of sacrifices voluntarily made out of regard to maintaining peace of conscience, and to the duty of submitting every opposing inclination to the claims of Christian sincerity.

“ Nor shall the eternal roll of praise reject
 Those unconfirming; whom one rigorous day
 Drives from their cures, a voluntary prey
 To poverty and grief and disrespect,
 And some to want—as if by tempest wreck’d
 On a wild coast; how destitute! did they
 Feel not that conscience never can betray,
 That peace of mind is Virtue’s sure effect.
 Their altars they forego, their homes they quit,
 Fields which they love, and paths they daily trod,
 And cast the future upon Providence;
 As men the dictate of whose inward sense
 Outweighs the world; whom self-deceiving wit
 Lures not from what they deem the cause of God.”

Wordsworth’s Ecclesiastical Sketches.

The number of ministers who at this time refused to accept the terms of ministerial Conformity in the newly-restored church is loosely estimated at two thousand. Mr. Heywood says that they were two thousand five hundred, but in this number were included many who, though not conforming at first, did afterwards comply with the terms. The whole number of names in Dr. Calamy’s list does not reach two thousand, and there are some of whom he could obtain no account, and whose title to the character of minister may be regarded as questionable. In this honourable list are Mr. Heywood, his brother, Mr. Nathaniel Heywood, and his father-in-law, Mr. Angier. There are also the names of nearly

all his friends in the ministry,—Bentley, Jollie, Newcome, Tildesley, Goodwin, Park, Harrison. In the parish of Halifax, beside himself and Mr. Bentley, there were the two Roots, Mr. Robinson, and Mr. Gamaliel Marsden. In the parts of Yorkshire with which he was most acquainted, the following ministers were Non-Conformists:—Mr. Kirby of Wakefield, Mr. Wood of Sandal, Mr. Hill of Crofton, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Jeremiah Marsden of Ardsley, Mr. Christopher Marshall of Woodkirk, Mr. Richardson of Kirk Heton, Mr. Thorpe of Hopton, Mr. Swift of Peniston, Mr. Spawford of Silkston, Mr. Waterhouse of Bradford, Mr. Dawson of Thornton, Mr. Town of Howarth, Mr. Sharp of Addle, Mr. Crossley of Bramhope, Mr. Cotes of Rawden, Mr. Smallwood of Idle, Mr. Wales of Pudsey. At a greater distance, were the clergy of the towns of Leeds, Sheffield, and Rotherham, with several at York*.

* In speaking of these men I shall call them by the term by which they are usually designated, *The Ejected Ministers*, without distinguishing between those who gave way to the old incumbents and those who were in possession of benefices or cures from which no predecessor had been removed. By 'Ejected Ministers,' then, in the succeeding pages, I mean those ministers who had been engaged in the ministry before August 24, 1662, and who did not comply with the terms of ministerial communion prescribed by the Act.

There is an admirable biographical account of most of them by Dr. Calamy: and as this work of Dr. Calamy's has been already several times referred to, and will be more frequently mentioned hereafter; and as the nature of the work, which is one of the most valuable store-houses of original biography to be found in the modern literature of England, infinitely superior both in extent and novelty of information, in arrangement, and other literary merits, to the rival work, Walker's '*Sufferings of the Clergy*,' is not very generally understood;—the following account of it may be acceptable:—When Baxter, one of the most celebrated of the Presbyterian divines, died, there was found among his papers a large manuscript containing 'Memoirs of his Own Life and Times.' This manuscript was printed in 1696, by his friend Mr. Matthew Sylvester, in a folio volume, entitled '*Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*,' &c. It is an ill-digested work, and contains many things of little value, together with large papers valuable in themselves, but easily, and perhaps advantageously, separated from the parts of the work properly historical. Among these

The private reflections of Mr. Heywood on this occasion turn almost entirely on the injury which was done to the cause of religion by the removal of so many excellent ministers from the stations which they filled; and it cannot be doubted that there went out at this time from the Church of England the most assiduous and careful of its pastors, the most energetic and successful of its preachers; that, in the eyes of all persons who look to the interests of religion and the maintenance of a high tone of piety and virtue, in the

is that affecting memorial of the progress of Baxter's own mind in respect of the things in controversy in those times, which excited so strongly the admiration of Coleridge, and is indeed a noble piece of self-inspection. This and many other things were left out, and the rest of the work better digested, when it appeared, in 1702, in an octavo volume, entitled '*An Abridgement of Mr. Baxter's History of his Life and Times.*' This work was by Dr. Calamy, who was grandson of old Edmund Calamy, a celebrated London minister of the time of the Commonwealth. In 1713, a second edition of this work appeared, in two large octavo volumes. In this edition there is a continuation of the history to the year 1711; and a chapter in the former work, containing notices by Baxter of many other ministers who took the same course that he did under the Act of Uniformity in 1662, was expanded into a volume of 845 pages, containing the names of all the ministers who were sufferers on the return of Charles the Second, or by the politico-ecclesiastical measures adopted soon afterwards, with ample accounts of most of them. The first volume of this work is entitled '*An Abridgement of Mr. Baxter's History of his Life and Times,*' and the second volume '*An Account of the Ministers, Lecturers, Masters and Fellows of Colleges and Schoolmasters, who were Ejected or Silenced after the Restoration in 1660, by or before the Act of Uniformity;*' an honest title, which is of itself an answer to some modern cavils against his work. This is the work which is here quoted under the abbreviate of the title '*Account,*' &c. It is by some writers referred to by the title of the First Volume, as Dr. Calamy's '*Abridgement,*' &c. Fourteen years afterwards, namely, in 1727, Dr. Calamy published, in two more octavo volumes of goodly size, with continuous paging, '*A Continuation of the Account of the Ministers,*' &c., as before. This contains corrections and additions, with many new lives. This is the work quoted as Dr. Calamy's '*Continuation,*' &c. In 1775, Mr. Samuel Palmer, a dissenting minister at Hackney, published a work in two volumes octavo, which he entitled '*The Non-Conformists' Memorial, originally written by Edmund Calamy, D.D., now abridged and corrected, and the Author's*

public arrangements which are made concerning ecclesiastical affairs, and not, or not principally, to the mere effect of them on the temporal or political condition,—there was much to be deplored in the loss of the services of these men, some of whose peculiarities might have been disregarded, or a frame of a church contrived such, as they might have felt no difficulty, or little difficulty, in conforming to it. It is remarkable how very little from this time we hear of the old Puritan scruples. The whole question appears to have assumed quite another character; the comparative value of the services of the Ejected Ministers, and those of the Conforming Clergy, and the limits of the two conflicting principles, which, as we shall soon see, came immediately into play,—the principle of private conscience of duty, and the principle of obedience to the national will. As time went on, other questions of greater moment arose.

The sense of the injury done to the highest and dearest interests of his country, and, personally, of the opportunities which he himself would lose of doing God service, was by far the most predominant sentiment in the mind of Mr. Heywood. The lower considerations seem to have been little thought of by him. But neither he, nor others who acted with him, could be wholly insensible to the value of the security which an honourable profession gives against the ordinary accidents of life, and to the immediate benefit which resulted on the exercise of the profession: and it was so ordained, that, at that particular juncture, as if to make more striking the example which they presented of superiority to worldly considerations, there were private reasons in the case of both the Mr. Heywoods to lead them to wish that there should be no diminution of their temporal resources. Mr. Heywood's settled estate yielded him at this time a very small income, and he was burthened with a debt of thirty pounds, having also two

additions inserted, with many further particulars and new anecdotes. Little can be said in praise of this work, and little more of the later editions in which it has appeared.

young children who looked to him for support. And it was also at this particular juncture that the fortunes of his father were wholly destroyed. Buoyed up by his former successes, this enterprising and scheming man had entered into new speculations which had wholly disappointed him. The ruin was total. He was cast into prison; and his two other sons, who had been brought up to commerce, fled to foreign lands. One of them left a family in England. The elder Mr. Heywood had also, to add to their embarrassment, married a second wife, a young woman, who brought him a second family. It is remarkable, that this crisis in their affairs occurred in the very interval between the passing of the Act of Uniformity and the time when assent must be signified to its terms; for it was on Midsummer Day, 1662, that Mr. Heywood took his last leave of his eldest brother. "Oh, I remember his tears and agonies of spirit at my house at Norwood Green. He was entangled in my father's affairs; withdrew from his own house privately; took a sad and sorrowful leave of his wife and children; resolved to go beyond sea; came to my house. I accompanied him to Chapel of Frith, in Derbyshire. There we parted affectionately, June 24, 1662. At parting, we changed horses, and that horse I have kept almost fourteen years. He went to London, and so took shipping with Lord Willoughby, governor of the Plantations*. I suppose they went to Surinam or Barbadoes, and had their lot of many hundreds of acres." The younger brother, Josiah, accompanied him. They were scarcely heard of afterwards, and were supposed to have died before two years were over.

It cannot therefore be doubted, that, when every allowance is made for any terrene matter, such as the spirit of party, the point of honour, the influence of example, respect for elders, and, perhaps, the lingering hope that

* Francis the fifth lord and William the sixth lord, his brother, both went to the West Indies. Francis was drowned at Barbadoes in 1666, and William died in the same island in 1673.

a steady resistance might ultimately succeed in compelling the legislature to relax the severities of the Act, the conduct of Mr. Heywood was an instance of heroic self-devotion, such as men have been honoured for of good men in every age, and such as we may humbly hope is acceptable in the sight of God.

From this time, then, August 24, 1662, Mr. Heywood ceased to be the public minister at Coley; but he continued to reside among his former flock.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EJECTED MINISTERS RESOLVE TO CONTINUE IN THE EXERCISE OF THEIR MINISTRY.—SUPPORTED BY MANY OF THE LAITY.—MR. HEYWOOD'S SUCCESSORS AT COLEY.—HE IS EXCOMMUNICATED.—EFFECTS.—EXCOMMUNICATED IN THE DIOCESE OF CHESTER ALSO.—PREACHES IN HIS OWN AND OTHER PRIVATE HOUSES.—CONVENTICLE AT CAPTAIN HODGSON'S BROKEN UP.—HIS HOUSE SEARCHED.—OTHER ALARMS.—THE FARNLEY-WOOD PLOT.—GOES FROM HOME TO PREACH IN DISTANT PLACES.—MR. SWIFT'S CASE AT PENISTON.—ANOTHER EXCOMMUNICATION.—THE PARLIAMENT AND THE KING CONCUR IN TREATING THE NON-CONFORMISTS WITH SEVERITY.—REMARKABLE ACCOUNT OF THE SINGING OF BIRDS IN THE NIGHT WHILE THEY ARE AT WORSHIP.—PREACHES AT PENISTON, MOTTRAM, DENTON.—MR. HOLLAND'S PURPOSED MARRIAGE SERMON.—THE CONVENTICLE ACT.—THE TWENTY-FOURTH OF AUGUST OBSERVED AS A FAST-DAY.—QUESTION OF NON-CONFORMISTS ATTENDING THE CHURCHES.—BRAMHOPE; MR. DYNELEY.—CHAPELS FOUNDED IN THE COMMONWEALTH TIMES.—VISITS LONDON, LANCASHIRE, LEEDS.—MANY ARRESTS OF NON-CONFORMISTS.—CASE OF POSSESSION.—VARIOUS FASTS.

Two courses were open to the Presbyterian ministers, who, for the reasons already given, were obliged to retire from the stations which they had occupied in the Church;—a quiet submission to the law, by which silence was imposed upon them, or to act in open opposition to the law and in defiance of it. And the eyes of the nation must have been turned upon them to observe the course which they took, as their determination was full of very important consequences both to the then present and to future generations.

A very few betook themselves to secular employments: three or four of them became physicians; se-

veral became tutors in private families ; some established schools. But, by far the greatest number of them, among whom was Mr. Heywood, determined to maintain their right to be recognised in the character of minister with which they had been solemnly invested, and though prevented from exercising their ministry in the places in which they had been accustomed to do so, to seize any opportunities that might be presented to them of conducting religious services.

Their case was very different from that of their fathers, the Puritan sufferers before the war, who had never thought of gathering communities from the Church, and thus setting up, as it were, an opposition to it. Their object had been to change the form of the Church, or to obtain greater liberty in it while it continued as it was, and they had lived in the not unreasonable hope and expectation of doing so. The Act of Uniformity must nearly have extinguished that hope in the minds of most of them, as it must have shown them that no kind of change was contemplated, and that an unreserved Conformity would henceforth be insisted upon as rigidly as in the preceding times, and that those who did not conform must cease to act as ministers. The language of the Act plainly was,—“ Officiate in the Church and according to the forms of the Church, or cease to exercise the ministry at all.” They were too many to think of emigration,—the course which their fathers had adopted when they were prohibited one by one from exercising their ministry at home ; if indeed they felt the horror of schism, or the danger of it, so strongly as to make it incumbent upon them to incur the inconveniences of transporting themselves to a distant country. But their horror of schism, which, as respects a church which is only national, not universal, is an offence hardly to be defined, and their reluctance to do any thing which was schismatical, would be abated by the example which had been set by the gathered churches of the Independents in the preceding times, and also of the Anabaptists and

Quakers, by whom the ice had been broken : and they were sufficiently numerous to make their determination to defy the law in what they considered the discharge of their consciences, a matter not to be disregarded by those who had the direction of public affairs, and they had in point of fact very great influence in producing the great political change of 1688, though after years of struggle and adversity.

It can scarcely have been that the framers of the Act of Uniformity did not contemplate that the effect would be exactly that which took place ; though, crushed as the Puritan party now were, it probably was not foreseen that the house of Stuart would not ultimately stand its ground. If any amongst them, however, looked for a quiet submission, they must have been very ill-informed respecting the state of the Puritan mind ; and if they expected by a few severities to silence the voice of the Presbyterian ministry, they must have greatly misunderstood the character of the men with whom they had to do, and the effects of an education which had given to their minds a strength above all the strength of temporal power. What can be done with men who “rejoice that they are counted worthy to suffer shame for the name of Jesus ?” It appears now to be but one of those superficial truths which no one can overlook, that it is the part of true policy, whatever it may be of Christian zeal, in the men who wield the power of the state to “forbear from such men, and let them alone,” secure that “if the counsel and work be not of God it will come to nought, but if it be of God they cannot overthrow it ;” or, in other words, that there will arise variety of opinion in Protestant communities, and some of these opinions will be wild and irregular : but though this is an evil, it is the less evil when not animadverted upon, and may be tolerated as long as the temporal state sustains no direct injury. Still more is it the wisdom of temporal authorities to forbear, when there is nothing wild and extravagant, but perhaps some little excess of zeal for

that which is good, and when the aim is purely to keep up a healthful state of the public morals and the influence of Christian truth in a Christian land; and this was henceforth the principal object of the Presbyterian ministry.

The notion of toleration was however at that time little understood in England by any party. The Lord Chancellor Hyde, in whose mind the public policy respecting the Non-Conformists for the most part originated, seems to have had not the most distant notion of it, but to have thought it possible to compel all persons to follow in one particular track. The principle of toleration grew up in the times which now follow, partly out of the treatment which the Non-Conformists received, but principally through the efforts of the then rising body of Latitudinarians, laymen and divines, for there were both, Conformists and Non-Conformists, who felt that an intolerant and circumscribing church places very serious obstacles in the way of men who look upon themselves as in the pursuit of divine truth, not as if they had already attained it, a class which soon began to attract notice in England.

As to Mr. Heywood, no man's mind was stronger in the strength of religious principle and in the hope and confidence of the Gospel. He was full of the recollection of the faith and patience of the saints, the labours and sufferings of the apostles, and of men in later times who had opposed themselves even to the death against the power of the oppressor, such as his own Marsh and Bradford, whose names had been "household words" in the common talk of the friends of his youth. He was not a man, loyal and submissive as he was in all temporal affairs, to yield to Acts of Parliament passed or to be passed which would silence the voice which had been so often raised to comfort the afflicted and to convince the guilty. Was he not an ordained and regularly appointed minister of the Gospel, who had made a solemn vow in the midst of the great assembly and in the pre-

sence of his fathers in the ministry, some of whom were gone in the faith that they had committed the Word to to him, and was he not bound by it to continue stedfast in the ministry to the end of his life? Had he not the apostolic words ever sounding in his ears, *Væ mihi, si non prædicavero*? And did not the growing profaneness and immorality of the time call for the counteraction which an uncompromising and faithful ministry presented? Could an Act of Parliament, or successive Acts of Parliament, avail to nullify his mission, or would it avail him in the day when the Lord should take account of his servants?

Such was the way in which he and other ministers reasoned when they determined to set up private conscience of duty against the national will,—a determination rarely to be justified, but certainly not always to be condemned. It is a serious thing to oppose the law, because it is by the law that we are protected; and it can hardly ever be vindicated (except in the cases in which the law has become effete and obsolete, though not formally changed), except in the case in which a person is seriously convinced that in no other way can he acquit himself in the higher duty which he owes to the great Sovereign and Lord of all. At the same time this is a fearful step, which the modest and humble Christian will ever dread to take; because there is such a thing as an erroneous conscience, a mind heated by religious enthusiasm so as to be incapable of forming a clear notion of what is the line of duty; and because of the numerous instances which have occurred in the history of the Church of intolerable mischiefs having been committed at the prompting of individual judgment on what is right. It has been an error of the persons who spring from and represent the parties of whom we are speaking, to think too lightly of the respect which is due to the laws and institutions of the realm, begun at this period. The wisdom is, if it were attainable, for the legislature so to frame its measures that the private con-

sciences of sensible, honourable, wise and religious men shall not be offended.

The men who were silenced as public ministers by the Act of Uniformity were strengthened in the resolution which they took to continue to perform the duties of ministers, whatever might be the consequence, by observing how great was the number of persons who earnestly desired it of them, and who were willing to sustain their share of the peril and inconvenience of the course. We may now, with our present knowledge and feeling, and with the improvement which has taken place in the taste of religious persons, think the discourses of these men which have come down to us uninformative and unimproving, and gather from them, that their long prayers must have been as unedifying to instructed minds. But it was different in those days: when the voice of one of these zealous ministers was to be heard, hearers flocked "as doves to the windows" (one of their most favourite scripture-expressions), and this when there was "open vision;" but how much more when they stole to some sequestered spot and there listened in privacy amid the darkness of the night, while the horses of those who waited to take them as their prey were heard around their places of assembly! Nor had these men so lived in the world that they had not conciliated the kind affections of numerous private friends who would not forsake them in their adversity, but who clung to them the more closely when they saw them buffeted and evil-entreated by a world that was not worthy of them. There were also amongst the laity many who agreed with them in principle respecting the constitution of the Church, the imposition of the Liturgy, and the continuance of practices deemed superstitious; who though not called upon by the Act, which required nothing of the laity, to take a prominent ground of opposition, yet felt themselves under an obligation to countenance those who were so. It was also often found that pastors were placed in the situations which the Puritan ministers had

vacated, who were less pious, less energetic, less useful ; and this led to comparisons not favourable to the new order of things. A new question also arose out of it, which became afterwards one of great moment in the controversy between Dissenters and the Church, namely, in whom it was most fitting that the nomination of pastors should be vested ?

It is a thing admitted, that there was a great difficulty at first in supplying the places from which the ministers had been removed with suitable successors to them ; and, amongst others, the people of Coley were not fortunate in their selection of ministers to succeed Mr. Heywood. They had first a Mr. Fisden, of whom Mr. Heywood says, that “ he was not liked, being a wild man.” They had then a minister who called himself Mr. Pattison, though his name really was White. After a month’s stay he took an abrupt departure, carrying with him property borrowed of his neighbours. They had then Mr. Hoole, one of the ministers who had been a Non-Conformist at first, but who had conformed after having been two years out of the Church. He came in October 1664 and left Coley in 1669, being “ not much regretted.” They had then Mr. Moore and Mr. Ichabod Furness, who gave the people little satisfaction and stayed but a short time ; and lastly, for the present, came Mr. Bramley, who left Coley under discreditable circumstances. These six ministers fill up the first twelve years after they had lost their affectionate and able pastor.

We left him under a suspension. He made no attempt to obtain the removal of it, knowing that the twenty-fourth day of August was at hand. But the Court at York was not content with suspending him from the exercise of his ministry ; they proceeded to excommunication. I trace his papers in vain for the precise ground on which this sentence was pronounced, but it was probably for further contempt. The sentence was published in the church of Halifax on the 2nd of November, 1662. How it was received by Mr. Heywood we may read in

his private memorials :—“ Were it just, how formidable would the sentence be ! but ‘ The Curse causeless shall not come ;’ and Christ owned the poor ejected man with more free and familiar entertainment. ’Tis usual with God to communicate himself the most to those that are forsaken of their hopes and friends. Oh, that my God would now take me into more intimate communion with himself !” This was not a man to be subdued by severities.

The effect of the sentence was to exclude him not from the pulpit only, but from the congregational assembly ; and of this he soon had an odious proof, for, going as a hearer to the chapel in which he had long been the minister, the churchwarden commanded him to avoid the place, as one lying under the sentence. He refused to obey, and it does not appear that force was resorted to. On another occasion, the chapel being without a minister, he had invited Mr. Lever, who had been ejected at the chapel in Ainsworth, to visit Coley and to preach there. Mr. Lever came. It was the 7th of December ; the weather was snowy and sharp ; yet great multitudes came. When ready to enter the chapel two of Mr. Heywood’s old opponents stopped them, charging Mr. Lever to desist, or proceed at his peril. They informed him also that there was a troop of horse near at hand who would be called in to disperse the assembly. Upon this the people who had come together separated, and the two ministers returned thoughtfully home.

On another occasion, at a somewhat later period, calling by accident at Shibden-hall, between Coley and Halifax, the family invited him to dine. It happened that Dr. Hooke, the new vicar, was to dine there on the same day. When he arrived he refused to sit down with Mr. Heywood, alleging that it was against the canons to eat with an excommunicated person. Mr. Heywood of course retired.

Mr. Ellis, who was churchwarden at Coley, claimed

from him the payment of four shillings for four days' absence from church, under the statute of Elizabeth. This appeared to him most unreasonable, as he was excluded from the Church by his sentence of excommunication.

A poor pretext was taken to pronounce the like sentence of excommunication in the diocese of Chester, where the bishop, Hall, was determined to proceed in a strong manner against the Non-Conformists. The pretext was, that he had preached a funeral sermon at Bolton when on a visit there. This was in November 1662. There was little of the slow and sober gait of penal justice in these proceedings, for the citation was published in the church of Bolton on the 7th of December, when he was at his house in another diocese, and the sentence of excommunication was pronounced on the 4th of January following.

These things show that Mr. Heywood had by this time attracted no small share of public attention, that he was regarded as a leading person among the Non-Conformists, and that it was thought his example would be likely to produce great mischief.

These severe measures, instead of daunting him, or making his friends afraid, produced a reaction in his favour. "Satan is overshot in his own bow: that which was intended for my greatest ignominy is turned to my greatest glory, and hath set the people of God upon owning me and praying for me more than ever: yea, there hath been unwonted importunities for my poor company at several houses where very many came to hear the word of God, even in the night." Mr. Angier, in the face of the Church's authority, admitted Mr. Heywood to the communion in the public chapel at Denton. There Mr. Angier still remained, though he had not conformed, sustained by the high reverence which every one felt for his character, his age, and the countenance given him by the chief gentlemen of the place. Mr. Heywood speaks of the great comfort which

he found in this act of his father-in-law. But Mr. Angier, always a man of peace, advised him to apply to the Court at York to have the sentence removed. Mr. Heywood took some steps for this purpose. But when he learned from the Chancellor that this could not be done unless he took the oath *de parendo juri et stando mandatis Ecclesiæ*, he refused to proceed with his supplication.

He went on in the course which he had thought it his duty to take without any particular molestation from the magistracy. It was known that he preached in private houses, and also that persons resorted to his own house to be present at religious services; but no notice was taken of it, or at least very little, and the first storm fell upon the house of his Independent neighbour, Captain Hodgson, who gives the following account of it:—“My next trouble came upon me in the beginning of July [June] 1663. I had occasion to be at Leeds, and coming home at night, I found Mr. Jollie, a good man, was come to my house out of Lancashire on purpose to visit me and my family, and, as his custom was and had been many years, to instruct us. My wife had sent for many neighbours to come in; and the Act of Conformity having taken place, he was performing family duty, being tender of his own liberty as well as ours. He craved a blessing upon the ordinance, and spoke something from a scripture. But I desired to put an end to the duty, in regard there was danger towards us, our neighbours that belonged to Sir John’s troop* being mounted with a

* Sir John Armitage, who resided at Kirklees, which had been a house of Professed Ladies, suppressed at the Reformation, an interesting place on the borders of the parish of Halifax. He was through life an active enemy of the Non-Conformists in his character of magistrate, and as having command of the trained bands, or militia, the troopers named in the text. Lady Armitage was a daughter of Thornhill, of Fixby, in the parish of Halifax. She brought him eight sons, none of whom left issue to inherit his title of baronet. On their death the estate went to a distant relation, in whom the title was revived in 1738.

design to set the house about. But one of their wives sent us word to look to ourselves ; and so we dismissed the company out at the back-door into the fields, the minister and all, and shut up the gates and doors of the house ; and presently we were set about with horsemen. In the morning I caused the hall-door to be opened, after a parley, and suffered three persons to come in, Abraham Mitchell, the leader of the party, Samuel Foxcroft, and John Hanson, who came in with his sword drawn, but I caused him to put it up ; and so I showed them my children and family in bed ; and so they withdrew, and searched neighbours' houses, and no prey :—so wonderfully did God hide us from the fury of these men*.”

This was the meeting to which the following passage in Mr. Heywood's papers refers :—“ On June 10, 1663, there was a great meeting at Coley-hall where Mr. Jollie was to preach ; but, as it pleased God, I was in Lancashire. The soldiers had intelligence, and came to apprehend them, but were disappointed, the persons met having notice of the design. Which night they came to my house to search, but found not their prey ; yet since they have got information concerning several persons, and have bound them to sessions and to good behaviour. Divers have escaped them whom they are now seeking ; others they are sending to prison upon other accounts ; yet hitherto I have lived quietly at home, though they often watch my house to get a clear advantage against me ; and though they know of some solemn meetings I have been at to preach the word, yet hitherto the Lord hath restrained them.”

* *Original Memoirs during the great Civil War*, p. 181. This was not the first effect which Captain Hodgson found from the change of the times. Very soon after the Restoration he was committed to the castle of York for treasonable words by two neighbouring justices, Sir John Kaye, of Woodsome, and Sir John Armitage. He was acquitted on his trial. He was in trouble again for pretended plotting, when his arms were taken from him, and he was in other respects harassed. He was decidedly a Republican and Independent.

Again, "On Wednesday, August 12, 1663, towards night came to me three several messengers to bring me word that the troopers would come that night to apprehend me, and desired me to withdraw out of the way. I told them I had not broken either God's law or man's law, so as to deserve any punishment from them ; therefore I resolved to stay, hoping that my integrity would preserve me, and my known loyalty to God and the king would be my best apology against the imputations of men about my plotting, which is the common pretence to secure men ; but my escaping would seem to plead guilty. Accordingly I stayed and slept as sweetly as ever I did in all my life, without the least molestation. And many other times have I had the like merciful protection and prevention after such like alarms ; so that though I was the first person that was meddled with in these parts, yet hitherto God hath been a defence upon my habitation so as my body and goods are preserved, and I may set up the stone Ebenezer, Hitherto the Lord hath helped, to admiration !"

The autumn of that year was a time of great alarm in the parts of Yorkshire in which Mr. Heywood resided, and if we could suppose that the whole was not well known to the Government from the beginning, not wholly without reason. A small body of simple, ignorant, and deluded people who lived about Morley and Gildersome, who belonged to the class of the extreme Puritan, being Republicans and Independents, rose in arms in the October of this year, declaring for a Christian magistracy and a Gospel ministry. They proceeded so far as to throw up entrenchments in Farnley-wood, in the neighbourhood of Leeds. The plot had ramifications in other parts of the kingdom ; and among the persons who were seduced to join in it was Ralph Rymer, of the neighbourhood of Northallerton, who had been a sequestrator in the late times (father of Thomas Rymer, the collector of the *Fœdera*), who was taken and executed. Colonel Hutchinson's name is mentioned in connexion

with it, and the name also of General Lambert, who was to take the entire command. Mr. Heywood says that he was personally acquainted with many of the people of his neighbourhood who were concerned, twenty-one of whom were executed. He intimates that they were simple-minded men, lured on to destruction; and he speaks of Major —— (whose name I suppress out of respect to those who are now his representatives), as “that perfidious wretch, guilty of so much blood in the plot-business.” The principal person who appeared at Farnley-wood was Captain Thomas Oates, of Morley, who was one of those executed. When his son was prepared to give evidence against him, the judge refused to hear him. How sad that political necessities can ever be supposed to call for scenes such as those*!

The name of Mr. Heywood is not mentioned in the depositions to which I have alluded below. Indeed nothing could have been more directly opposed to his principles and repugnant to his feelings than to have had the least share in a political movement like this. It was his principle through life to keep himself as much as pos-

* Beside thus appearing in so shocking a position, he gave very extended information to the magistrates. His long, rambling, and unintelligible depositions are printed by Dr. Whitaker in his work entitled *Loidis and Elmete*, p. 108–113. I do not blame Dr. Whitaker for having published them, but I could wish that he had not given his own credence and authority to such incredible statements, and charged on respectable men, not so much the wickedness as the folly of implicating themselves in anything so ridiculous; and I wish that he had given some intimation that this, like the plot of the same period called Yarrington's, has every appearance of having been artificial,—a contrivance of government itself. Artificial plots formed part of Hyde's policy; if ever to be justified at all, only on the ground of very extreme necessity. Dr. Whitaker might also have pronounced a stronger opinion on the conduct of the unhappy person whose depositions they are,—Ralph Oates, Master of Arts; concerning whom I find in Mr. Heywood's papers, that he entered the church as a Conformist minister, had the living of Smeaton, near Wentbridge; sold an estate of 80*l.* per annum; got into much debt, and became a private soldier.

sible apart from political affairs, his whole heart and mind being absorbed with attention to the duties of his ministerial office. Nor was the object at which these people aimed one in which he felt any particular interest; for though feeling the evils of his position, he had felt the evils also of sectarian rule. What he wanted was firmly established kingly government, and a church wisely and liberally constructed, so as best to answer the ends of its institution.

About this time the entries in his auto-biographical remains become more particular, and he put down, not day by day, as afterwards he did, but, very frequently, notes of incidents as they occurred; so that we have more of facts, and less of reflection upon them, than before. Thus, he gives an account of one of his first Sunday rambles in search of an opportunity to preach, which he had not found at home. He was through life an early riser, and this day, at the end of September, he set out with the intention of going to Peniston, a small country town about twenty miles south of Coley, where Mr. Swift still continued to officiate in the church without having conformed, the principal families in the parish, the Bosviles, Wordsworths, and Riches, being Puritans and supporters of him*; but missing his way, he turned to Honley, where another Non-Conforming mi-

* Mr. Swift's case was very peculiar. He continued to hold the church till his death, many years after, though he had never subscribed, nor used the Common Prayer; but he was several times imprisoned for offences of Non-Conformity. The doubt respecting the right of presentation, which occasioned a lapse after Mr. Swift's death, probably favoured this irregularity. We shall find Mr. Heywood several times afterwards at Peniston, preaching in the church; and he remarks that this freedom of Mr. Swift was the more worthy observation, because the church of Peniston had been made a garrison in the time of the war by Sir Francis Wortley, whose seat is at no great distance, "who from hence roved up and down the country, robbing and taxing many honest people; but now the good people from all parts flock thither, and there are sweetly refreshed with the bread of life in public when a spiritual famine is through the land."

nister, Mr. Dury, was still in possession of the public chapel. Mr. Dury was absent that day, and no opportunity of preaching being presented, Mr. Heywood proceeded to the chapel in Holmfirth, in a very romantic country, where he arrived about noon. The morning service was over, but the preacher and several of the people besought him that he would conduct the service in the afternoon, which he did. On another Sunday, October 11, he preached the whole day in another obscure place, Shaw-chapel, in the parish of Prestwich in Lancashire, having been expressly invited to do so, "a great number of good people being gathered from a distance." He did this at a great hazard, and notices as a mercy that he had not been troubled on account of it, as other Non-Conformist ministers had been who had preached at the same chapel. He had great encouragement in the apparent effects at this beginning of his irregular ministrations. It was natural that it should be so.

On the 6th of December another sentence of excommunication against him was published in the church of Halifax. He does not inform us whether this was a more severe sentence than the one under which he already lay, or what circumstances rendered a repetition of the sentence necessary; but "he desires to make some spiritual use of it, and get so much nearer to God, as men cast him out from them." He continued to act also in open defiance of it; for on the 20th of the month he went to the chapel at Coley, where on that day Mr. Moor, of Baildon, a reputed Antinomian, was to preach. The churchwarden came in fury, before the minister had begun his sermon, insisting that Mr. Heywood should withdraw, and calling on the minister not to preach to an excommunicated person. He refused to retire, and Mr. Moor proceeded with his discourse. But when he returned home, Mr. Heywood was not satisfied with what he had done, and forbore to attend the chapel in the afternoon. He spent it in private religious medita-

tion, which appears to have been more than usually intense.

Everything which happened at this period of his life appears to have been turned by him into marks of God's approval of the course which he had taken. An unexpected present of five pounds at Christmas, at a time when he wanted the means of discharging the rent of his house, is particularly noticed by him as a proof "that God cared for him." He took encouragement from it, and wrote in his diary, "The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want," and "Hitherto God hath helped."

The year 1664 opened upon him with no prospect of any improvement in his position, for the question between the king and the Parliament respecting the policy to be pursued towards persons not conforming to the Church was composed, and both were agreed in taking severe measures for the better protection of the Church. The sentence of excommunication was still in force; and a vain attempt was made to have it removed. It was even intended that he should be arrested under it, and principally on that account he left his home and remained for a month among his friends in Lancashire. On his return he had ten weeks of quiet, having frequent religious assemblies in his house, when the services appear to have been exquisitely delightful. "Yesternight," says he, "above all the rest, is a night much to be observed, and deserves an asterism of memorial, being the evening of March 28, 1664. When we had appointed a meeting, notice was brought that some persons had promised N. W.* to find out and acquaint him with our meeting, that he might catch us together: upon which, some that were wont to come absented themselves, though several others at a distance came that formerly have not been with us; and God watched over us, and kept us in safety. Yea, more than that, all the

* Nathan Whitley, of Rooks, a very determined adversary of Mr. Heywood.

while they were together, namely, from 8 o'clock till 11, there was a most sweet, pleasant, melodious singing of birds about the house, as delightfully as ever I heard in all my life, and I was much taken with the music. All the company heard it, and wondered at it; and all said it was more than ever they heard before for birds to sing so sweetly in the night, and at this season. Immediately after all the company was gone away, I went out, but could not hear so much as a chirping, or any noise of a bird at all. I humbly and believingly take this as a token for good, and a sign that our 'summer is near,' and 'the time of the singing of birds is not far off.'—Cant. ii. 12. And it may be an evidence of God's protecting providence, according to that in Isaiah xxxi. 5. 'As birds flying, so will the Lord of Hosts defend Jerusalem;' or of an exemption from the 'causeless curse' of a malicious and malignant excommunication, Prov. xxvi. 2." In this way he moralises on all occurrences which have in them anything remarkable. It was probably a family of nightingales; yet the nightingale is very rarely heard in the groves of Halifax, and it was unusually early in the year, even when we remember that the change of the style makes the 28th of March answer to the 7th or 8th of April.

Early in May his adversaries obtained the writ *de excommunicato capiendo* against him, but it was no further put in force than to obtain an engagement from him to be forthcoming whenever the sheriff called for him. He speaks of the civility with which the bailiff used him, and attributes the leniency with which he was treated to the interference of Dr. Maud, a physician then practising at Halifax.

No new condition, however, at all altered his resolution to continue in the exercise of his ministry. "Yesterday morning, May 8, I was called out of my bed before sun-rise by a considerable number of persons who came to hear the word of God: and there came another company in the forenoon, and still more in the

afternoon, and we enjoyed all the day in peace, freedom from disturbance, and abundant spiritual enlargement. It was a sweet day to my spirit, though painful to my body; but having so fair a call, and full an auditory, I laid out myself, not knowing but it may be a parting exercise; and I find that 'when Paul was ready to depart, he continued his speech till midnight'."

On the next Sunday, May 15, he went again to Peniston. He arrived early in the morning, and Mr. Swift prevailed upon him to conduct the service of the day in the church (so bold was he); and Mr. Heywood accordingly officiated both in the morning and evening service. There was a great assembly; and when the service was over, a gentleman of the parish sent to Mr. Heywood a message, offering him an asylum at his house, where he believed he might find security, understanding that he was in some trouble. "I thanked him, but resolved to return to my family and commit myself to the Lord, who I hope will still watch over me, as hitherto he hath wonderfully done."

On the 5th of June he went, by invitation from the churchwarden, to preach at the church of Mottram in Longdendale, in Cheshire, and this with the consent of the vicar, though a Conformist. The vicar himself was present at both the services, and was very desirous to have Mr. Heywood come again. Two days after he was at Denton, at the house of Mr. Angier, where a private fast was kept. There was a considerable number of persons assembled. He began the service. "I continued about three hours pouring out my soul before the Lord, principally on behalf of his Church." Another private fast, at which he was present, was kept, apparently nearly at the same time, at Denton Hall, the seat of Colonel Holland*.

* Colonel Holland, the Richard Holland, Esq., before mentioned, had been a considerable person in the Civil Wars, and was a great friend of Mr. Angier. He died about this time. His estate of 800*l.* a-year passed to his brother, a bachelor of sixty years of age. Mr.

In the summer of this year the king gave his assent to a bill tendered him by Parliament, which was framed to put an end to any uncertainty on the state of the law in respect of persons holding or frequenting conventicles. The preamble sets forth, that doubts had arisen whether the statute of the thirty-fifth of Elizabeth was still in force, declaring however these doubts unreasonable ; but, to put an end to the uncertainty, it is now enacted, that every person present at any religious meeting where there are five persons or more above the household, on information before a justice of the peace, shall be committed to gaol for any time not exceeding three months, or pay a fine not exceeding five pounds ; for the second offence six months' imprisonment, or fine of ten pounds ; and for a third offence, on conviction by a jury, be transported to any of His Majesty's foreign plantations, except Virginia and New England, for seven years, or pay a fine of one hundred pounds. Lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, or any commissioned officers of militia, sheriffs, justices of the peace and other officers, are required to repair to the places where such conventicles are supposed to be held and to dissolve them, and power is given to the justices of the peace to enter houses to search, using force if necessary. A most oppressive and unchristian Act ; one of a series of such measures, when the determination was taken to suffer no religious service in England but that which was according to the manner of the Church from which so many ministers had withdrawn themselves. All the effect of the Act, however, was only to produce more of caution in the private assemblies which were

Heywood relates this singular story of him :—that, intending to marry, “ he found out a suitable gentlewoman, one Mrs. Britland : the marriage-day was appointed ; all things settled and concluded. In the meantime he fell sick and died, and was buried upon the day that was prefixed for marriage solemnities. The minister preached upon the same text at the funeral that was appointed for the nuptials, Matthew xxv. 6, only changing the words ‘ There was a cry made,’ for ‘ Behold the bridegroom cometh.’ ”

held. On the determination of the ministers it produced no change, nor, on their principles, ought it.

Mr. Heywood had at this period service every Sunday in his own house, and he notices that he had always more than twice the number of strangers allowed by the Act. His manner of conducting the service did not much differ from that which had formerly been his practice when the public minister, except that the devotional part occupied a larger portion of the time, an hour in the forenoon being spent in confession and petition, and an hour in the afternoon "in the great and sweet duty of thanksgiving."

The 24th of August was observed at the house of a neighbouring minister as a solemn fast. "The Lord helped his servants with strong cries, many tears, and mighty workings to acknowledge sin, accept of punishment, and implore mercy, after two years' death upon the ministry. Sure I am God bottles all these tears; these prayers shall not be lost. From this time forth I will hearken what God will speak; he will speak peace to his saints, for when he prepares his people's hearts to pray he will bow his ear to hear. This day's sowing is a sweet earnest of future harvest."

In September we find him preaching again in the public churches of Peniston and Mottram, and visiting Denton. In October, continuing his usual services in his own house, he finds that he is watched, and he receives information of Sir John Armitage's intention to surprise them at one of their meetings, and put the provisions of the Conventicle Act in force against them; but nothing was done.

At this period a very material question was agitated in the body of Non-Conformists, who had by this time acquired something of consolidation and distinctness, namely, whether it were lawful, and if lawful, expedient, that those who attended the services of the ministers who had retired from the church should also attend the public service in the parish churches. The importance of

this question will be at once perceived. "Some," says Calamy*, "were vehement for an entire separation." But Mr. Baxter and Dr. Bates, with others, were for having the Non-Conformist laity to frequent the public churches at times when none of their own ministers were to be heard, and to resort to them occasionally even when they had their choice, to show their charity and catholic spirit. And with this latter opinion Mr. Heywood's judgment coincided, and he encouraged those who came to his private services to attend also the ministry at the public chapel, of Mr. Hoole, then lately settled there, whom he looked upon to be a good and pious man. To promote this object he even forbore to have such frequent services at his own house on the Sundays; and as to himself, he was so disposed to attend the public service, that he obtained such an opinion as he could from the interpreters of ecclesiastical law on the question, whether an excommunicate might not lawfully attend the preaching of the word, not joining in the prayers. The answer which Dr. Hitch gave was ambiguous; from which Mr. Heywood drew the conclusion that there was nothing very determinate in ecclesiastical law. He was frequently present at Mr. Hoole's services.

In the November of this year appears to have begun his acquaintance with the Dyneleys of Bramhope in Wharf-dale, the head of which family, Mr. Robert Dyneley, was an ancient Yorkshire esquire, a grandson of Sir Robert Stapleton, who, in the days of Queen Elizabeth, had been accounted, according to Sir John Harington, "the finest gentleman of England next to Sir Philip Sidney," and married to a daughter of Sir John Stanhope. He was a person of great religious zeal, one proof of which was the foundation of a chapel at Bramhope, in the Commonwealth times, in which was placed a Puritan minister, Mr. Crossley, who continued his services there without ha-

* *Abridgement*, &c., p. 310.

ving conformed, under the protection which Mr. Dyneley afforded him, though neither the minister nor the patron were allowed to proceed in this course without legal animadversion*. On the 6th of November Mr. Heywood went to hear Mr. Crossley, and in the afternoon was pressed by Mr. Dyneley to conduct the service, which he did. "I had unwonted liberty of speech and spirit both in prayer and preaching, and God affected the hearts of his people. Blessed be God! such a season is worth a prison. Let me obey God's will and do his

* The foundation of the chapel of Bramhope took place in 1649, when there was no Church of England, in the ordinary sense of the term. The freeholders united in the work with Mr. Dyneley, the lord of the manor, particularly Mr. Robert Todd, the Puritan and Non-Conforming minister in one of the churches of Leeds. It is one of the earliest instances of a foundation for religious purposes resting on a private trust-deed. The lord and the freeholders surrendered on this occasion 130 acres of the waste grounds of the manor to Sir George Wentworth and other persons, for the use of a chapel to be erected and the maintenance of an able and godly minister; ten acres to be appropriated for a messuage for the minister's residence, and forty pounds a-year, to be raised from the rest, for his stipend: full power is given to Mr. Dyneley, together with the trustees, and with the assent of Mr. Todd and "four of the most honest, godly and conscientious inhabitants of the chapelry" of their nomination, to appoint the minister: if they neglect to do so within three months, the ministers of Leeds, Addle, Guiseley and Otley, with the assistance of any three or four of the said feoffees and of four of the honest and godly inhabitants, are to nominate: power to suspend and deprive the minister is reserved to Mr. Dyneley and the feoffees, with the approbation of the four ministers. See *Loidis and Elmete*, p. 197. This shows what appeared to a body of Puritans of those times the most judicious means of settling that very difficult point in ecclesiastics, the mode of appointing a minister to a cure.

Foundations of this kind and this age are rare. There were four others in the diocese of York, and probably more: Ellenthorpe, Great Houghton, Stannington, and Morley. After a generation or two the Dyneleys conformed, and the Bramhope chapel became united to the Church. The other four have continued in the hands of the Non-Conforming descendants of their founders, by whom they could not be intended for the service of the Book of Common Prayer, or for a minister who could comply with the terms of the Act of Uniformity. I have heard, I know not how truly, that the chapel at Great Houghton has recently been united with the Church.

will, and let his will be done upon me!" He soon paid another Sunday visit to Bramhope, where he heard Mr. Ord, a north-country minister, who was lately in prison at York for preaching in a public church in that city. He remained there on the Monday, which was the 30th of January, a public fast, when a great congregation assembled from all parts, and we find Mr. Crossley and Mr. Heywood both engaged in conducting the service; Mr. Crossley began, and Mr. Heywood took it up at eleven o'clock, "continuing," he says, "with abundant enlargement till half-past three."

In the course of this year, 1665, Mr. Heywood spent six weeks in a journey to the south, visiting Cambridge, Dedham in Essex, where he had many relations on the part of the Angiers, London, Coventry, and returning by Lancashire. The 12th of July was kept as a day of thankfulness for his safe return. We have no particulars of what occurred in this journey, though he says that there were things that were worth a particular recital. During his absence his house was searched by Sir John Armitage, on suspicion of a conventicle.

Such suspicions were by no means unreasonable, for Mr. Heywood, whether at home or abroad, paid no regard to the state of the law in this respect, scarcely even a prudential regard; conscientious regard, certainly none. On one of several visits to the neighbourhood of Bolton in the course of this year, the rector of Radcliffe, Mr. Beswick, sought to have the law enforced against him for collecting unlawful assemblies, but failed, chiefly through the moderation of Mr. Hulton of the Park. The 2nd of August, one of the public fast days on account of the plague, was observed by him at his father's house with more than common solemnity. His brother, Mr. Nathaniel Heywood, and Mr. Jones of Eccles, another Non-Conforming minister, were there. The service began at ten and was continued till six in the evening.

On the 13th he preached in the public chapel at

Shadwell, not far from Leeds. This seems to have been the boldest act in his illegal career ; for Mr. Hardcastle*, who had been the minister before the Act, was at that time in prison for continuing to preach. The place was also under the particular notice of the magistracy of Leeds, who were intent on suppressing conventicles ; and had not their attention been drawn away by a meeting of Quakers held on the same day, many of whom were taken and committed to prison, it was supposed that they would have sent their officers to Shadwell. On the Monday Mr. Heywood proceeded to Leeds, where were many persons to whom his visit was welcome. There was a large private assembly to whom he preached. This has too much the appearance of courting danger and inviting persecution ; especially as at that particular time there was a strong simultaneous action among the magistracy to put the law in force against the Non-Conformists. On the 19th of the month, Dr. Maud, Captain Hodgson, the younger of the two Roots, Nathaniel Shrigley and John Lumme were arrested in the parish of Halifax, and it was expected that he would be arrested too. This was on a rumour of a plot ; and it was represented, says Captain Hodgson, as having originated with the Duke of York, who was then coming to York with his duchess. The like arrests took place in other parts of the country. The persons arrested were taken to York, where, says Captain Hodgson, there were at least four-score prisoners, among whom were parliament-men, colonels, majors, lieutenant-colonels and captains. They were kept in prison for a considerable time, but at length released without trial.

The 24th of August was again kept by him as a fast-day, but privately, with a few of his neighbours only. He “ lamented the sad judgment before the Lord, inquired the cause and the sin which had provoked it, begged

* It may be added to Dr. Calamy’s account of Mr. Hardcastle, that he married a daughter of Lieutenant-general Gerard, who was an Anabaptist, as Mr. Hardcastle also was.

the sanctified use of so dreadful a stroke, and besought God to remove it.”

On the 17th of September, when he was observing the Sunday at home, Joshua Whitley the constable, brother to Nathan Whitley, came with a warrant of search to Mr. Heywood's house; but on this occasion the whole number of strangers was only four.

On the 11th of October he joined with Mr. Wales of Pudsey in a fast at Wakefield, on behalf of a person who was supposed to be possessed or bewitched. The erroneous opinion respecting the origin of such complaints as that under which the young man laboured, lingered longer perhaps among the Puritans than in other classes of the community; as did also notions of the possibility of injury being actually done by the poor unfortunate and ignorant persons who conceived of themselves that they possessed some strange occult power of doing so. But the most reflective men of the times had not yet risen superior to these erroneous notions, for who was more so than Sir Thomas Browne? I give in the note some particulars of this case*. Mr. Heywood remained at Wakefield se-

* The name of the party was Nathan Dodgson, and his case is thus described by Mr. Heywood:—"He was strangely taken, especially at prayer; six or seven lusty men could scarcely hold him, but he was lift up off the bed with incredible violence. He had abundance of fits that day; had all his senses taken from him; was as stiff as a stone; did sing in his fits. The Lord helped his servants to pray feelingly with compassionate hearts, and God heard prayer, for from Wednesday till Monday that I came away, he had no such violent fits, only when we went to prayer he was ordinarily cast into a kind of slumber and was not sensible. He often sees an apparition like a woman, and those that are with him hear a terrible noise, but see nothing."

The singing while the body was in a state of rigidity and the apparition which Dodgson saw show plainly the kind of witchcraft under which he lay, and bring the case very closely to that which is described in a singularly interesting manner by Dr. John Jebb (*Works*, 1787, ii. 44). He calls the disease catalepsy. The disease is of rare occurrence, and females appear to be more particularly subject to it. Dr. Jebb's patient was a lady. The case of Mrs. Martha Hatfield of Laughton, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, of

veral days, one of which was a Sunday, when he preached at Flanshaw-hall in the neighbourhood, a place in which the voice of the Puritan minister of those times was often to be heard. Mr. Kirby, who had been the Lady Cambden lecturer, continued to live in the town, and had erected a pulpit in a large room of his house for the more convenient performance of Non-Conformist services. Mr. Heywood preached in it in the evening, and had a large assembly.

On the 17th (these details cannot be omitted, as it is my design to show as much as possible of the mode of life of the earlier of the Non-Conforming ministers in England) he kept a fast at the house of Mr. Joseph Dawson, a young minister who had been ejected from Thornton chapel, in the neighbouring parish of Bradford, and had come to reside in the near neighbourhood of Mr. Heywood. He was a native of Morley, the son of Abraham Dawson of that place, who was one of the persons implicated by Ralph Oates in the Farnley-wood insurrection, when that reckless man dealt around him destruction and death with an unsparing hand*. There was a close intimacy

which an account was published in several editions, was of the same kind; only religion having a stronger hold on the young woman's mind, who was but twelve years of age, than a softer passion, instead of singing plaintive airs, she talked with extreme volubility, in the phrase of the Puritan preachers who resorted to her father's house. The case of Elizabeth Barton, the maid of Kent, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, was of the same kind, according to the description given of it in the statute of her attainder. When in her trances, she mingled with her pious exhortations opinions on the king's divorce. This was construed into high treason, and she was executed.

There happened to be at that time at Wakefield one of those unfortunate persons who lay under the suspicion of being adepts in the arts of witchcraft, and who perhaps thought that they might be able to gratify malignant feelings by the use of such arts. Suspicion immediately fell upon this woman as having bewitched Dodgson. Some persons, indignant at the act, or thinking possibly that thus Dodgson might be relieved, caused her death. A jury found what they did murder, and three persons were convicted and executed; so that four lives were sacrificed through an ignorant apprehension of the nature of the disease.

* Yet Mr. Dawson lived out all his days, and the inscription on

between Mr. Heywood and Mr. Dawson for the remainder of their lives, and we shall find them frequently acting in concert.

Early in November he was again among his friends at Peniston, where he preached on the 5th of November, and again on the Wednesday following, being the Monthly Fast on account of the plague in London. While Mr. Heywood was preaching, they were alarmed by the appearance of a few troopers at the church-gates, who were supposed to be sent by Sir Thomas Wentworth of Bretton, the principal magistrate in those parts of the county. He had several times before warned the people of Peniston to forbear. Mr. Heywood was guided out of the church and taken a back way to Water-hall, an old house of the Wordsworths, his great friends. It seems, however, to have been a needless alarm, as he was left unmolested, and on the Friday preached again, a funeral sermon for the mother of his host.

The next fast, the 6th of December, he kept at Denton, and he states that in the Christmas week, within the compass of eight days, he kept three fasts and preached nine several times.

And thus ended the year 1665.

his gravestone is still remaining in the chapel-yard of Morley, one of the few instances of such memorials outside of an edifice having been allowed to remain through one hundred and seventy years.

CHAPTER IX.

1666—1667.

THE OXFORD OR FIVE MILE ACT.—THE NON-CONFORMIST MINISTERS SUPPORTERS OF THE LIBERTIES OF ENGLAND.—MR. HEYWOOD LEAVES HIS HOME IN CONSEQUENCE OF IT.—TRAVELS IN CHESHIRE AND LANCASHIRE.—RETURNS HOME, WHICH IS NOW COLEY-HALL.—THE ACT VERY NEGLIGENTLY EXECUTED.—HE PREACHES AS USUAL, ONLY MORE FREQUENTLY FROM HOME.—HIS PREACHING TOURS IN YORKSHIRE, CHESHIRE AND LANCASHIRE.—HIS INTRODUCTION TO THE PURITAN GENTRY IN SOUTH YORKSHIRE.—DR. HITCH.—CONVENTICLE AT BIRCH-HALL.—THE *BRINGING IN MAY*.—HIS SECOND MARRIAGE WITH MRS. ABIGAIL CROMPTON.

THE rumours of plots, on which so many persons were arrested in the autumn of 1665, were coincident in time with another oppressive measure directed against the Non-Conforming ministers. How many of the plots of which we hear so much in the history of the reign of Charles the Second were real, is a subject of historic doubt, but if there were any plots against the existing government which admitted of being charged upon the Non-Conformists, it is evident that it was not the Presbyterians who were concerned in them, but the remains of some of the sectaries who carried their principles quite to the extreme; and it was thought a severe hardship upon the Presbyterians that pretence should be taken, from the disaffection of a small part of the Independents and Anabaptists, to frame general measures which laid fresh difficulties in their way, and exposed them to fresh inconveniences; and this, especially, as the Presbyterians were by far the largest body of Non-Conformists, so much so, that Rapin says, “they were considerably more numerous

than all the other Non-Conformists together," and also that "they had doctrines and interests really separate from those of the other sects*." But it was the policy of those who directed public affairs to recognize no distinction among the various bodies of Non-Conformists, but to treat all equally as enemies to the State and Church.

This was very unjust, as neither in principle nor in practice were the Presbyterians enemies to the government. It may be doubted whether, in the preaching of any of the sectaries, there was anything properly seditious, but this certainly could not be charged upon the Presbyterian ministers, whose single aim in their preaching was the promotion of virtue and piety, and who wished for the overthrow neither of the State nor the Church. Their single disobedience to the law lay in their peaceable and effectual pleadings with their fellow-beings to remember their Christian obligations and to make themselves meet to share at last in the Christian promises.

The existence of such a body of men was no real evil, as has since been shown in a long tract of time during which another policy has been pursued respecting them without any mischievous results. But suppose some evil did arise, it was hard to send men to loathsome gaols for the mere offence of preaching, or of going to hear a Christian discourse delivered by a Christian minister, and that in such numbers, that the loathsomeness and unwholesomeness of the old prisons of England were made still more afflictive. It brought back the recollection of the times, which were not much further remote from the times of which we are speaking than the Rebellion of 1745 is from the time in which we live, when they who were the fathers of the Church, as then restored, were crowded in dungeons before they came forth to public execution.

It is fortunate for the interests of humanity, that there is a practical limit to the power of any government,

* *History of England*, fol., 1743, vol. ii. p. 641.

when it would seek, by long imprisonments, to weary and break the spirits of any considerable number of its subjects. There cannot be towns of gaols and armies of gaolers, and large magazines of provisions. Two-thirds of a nation can hardly proceed in the way of imprisonment against the other third, when they are obstinate or resolute.

And so thought the statesmen of the time, and the new measure of oppression was framed accordingly. It was an Act of banishment against the Non-Conforming ministers, not from England, but from the places in which they were residing, and from all the incorporated towns. It provided that they were to remove to the distance of five miles from any place in which they had ever exercised their ministry, and not come, except when travelling, within the same distance of any city or corporate town. The penalty for each offence was forty pounds, one-third of which was to go to the informer. They might, however, keep themselves out of the scope of the Act by taking the political oath prescribed in the Act of Uniformity, with the additional clause, that "they would not at any time endeavour any alteration of government either in Church or State." This bill passed easily in the Commons, but in the Lords there was a strong opposition, headed by the Earl of Southampton and the Lord Wharton, who was through life a great friend and patron of the Puritan ministry. The royal assent was given to this heartless measure on the 31st of October, and it was to come into operation on the 24th of March following.

Very few of the ministers took the oath. Of Mr. Heywood's friends Mr. Swift of Peniston is, I think, the only one who took it. And here it is that the Non-Conforming ministers stand forth prominently as protectors of the liberties of England. When they rejected the terms proposed in the Act of Uniformity, there were many circumstances concurring with the objections to the political oath to induce them to refrain from complying. But in this

case the political principle alone interferes to prevent them from saving themselves from the multiplied inconveniences of a forced removal from the places of their abode ; and they refuse to surrender that ultimate check on evil government which has its silent seat in the breasts and hands of a people. It is to be remembered that they were a body of men in whose minds conscientiousness was fully formed and deeply impressed, and who respected the sanctity of an oath.

Mr. Heywood's family consisted at this time of his two sons, who were schoolboys at the newly founded school at Hipperholm, and a female servant, whose name, Martha Bairstow, deserves to be perpetuated on account of her long fidelity to her master and her care of his children. He continued the same course of preaching at distant places, as Shadwell, Leeds, Peniston and Denton, as he had done before, in the early months of this year ; but when the 24th of March was come and it was no longer lawful for him to remain at Coley, he took his departure from his home, leaving his children to the care of his servant. In this his course differed from that of many of his brethren, who, under the terror of the Act, removed their whole households from the places in which they were established, some to other parts of the country, but more to such towns as Manchester, Bolton, Sheffield and Mansfield, where there was a considerable population, but where the inhabitants were not incorporated. He spent the 23rd of March at Halifax, in taking leave of his many friends there, and on the 24th he crossed the hills to Denton to join his father-in-law. " It was the weariest, most tedious journey I have had that way, which I have gone many hundred times, but scarce ever with so sad a heart in so sharp a storm of weather." But there is another passage, penned apparently at the moment, which presents a more lively image of the good man as he travelled over the wearisome hills which divide Yorkshire and Lancashire :—
" Methinks this day of our scattering is a lively emblem of

our state ; and I could not but think of it as I travelled from mine own house to sojourn ; for all day it hath been terrible storms of hail and snow set on with a violent wind, yet it hath cleared presently, and after a short intermission of beautiful sunshine, suddenly overcast and darkening and snowing fast ; yet now from four o'clock till night very clear. Just such is the life of a Christian : but of this we may say, *Nubecula est citò transitura* ; and It's but a storm against the wall, and The end of a godly man is peace."

He spent the next day, which was Sunday, with Mr. Angier ; and on the Monday morning the elder and the younger minister set out together, neither of them having apparently formed any plan beside that of paying short visits to some of the gentry of Cheshire, at whose houses Mr. Angier was always welcome. They went first to Mr. Hyde's of Norbury, an infirm old gentleman, having a sister living with him who was dumb and lame. There they remained two nights. They next visited Sir Thomas Stanley at Alderley, who had been created a baronet on the king's return. Here Mr. Heywood, being requested to conduct the family prayers in the morning, had to resist a temptation "to study and speak handsome words with respect to the company," which was large. From thence they proceeded to Mobberley, where Mrs. Robinson, an aunt of Mr. Angier's wife, resided ; and from thence to Mr. Lea's of Darnall, where they were nobly treated and entertained. They remained there several days, and on the Sunday heard Mr. Hall, a Conformist, at the church of Over. On Tuesday they went, by invitation, to Mr. Crew's of Utkington, to keep a private fast. On the 11th they returned to Denton, where Mr. Angier, notwithstanding the Act, which was very loosely executed, continued to reside.

Mr. Heywood did not so immediately return to his home. He proceeded to Manchester, where he heard Mr. Heyrick preach at the funeral of old Mr. Strangers, and then went on to Bolton. There he preached

frequently, as also in his own house at Waterside, in which his father then lived. He kept a fast at Mr. Fogg's in Darcy Lever, where he was engaged in preaching and praying from eleven to five. On the 19th he went to Ormskirk to visit his brother, whom he found living in his own house unmolested, so unwilling are a magistracy to put in force penal laws which carry with them the marks of unreasonableness or extreme severity. His brother returned with him to Little Lever, and a fast was kept by them at Brightmet on account of a youth going to Cambridge. The two brothers went together to Manchester, where they found many of their "banished brethren." The 29th of April was a busy day. Mr. Heywood preached in Manchester early in the morning; he then went to Prestwich, there to spend the Sunday in public; and in the evening came to the house at Waterside, where Mr. Nathaniel Heywood preached to a considerable auditory. Monday was spent in a similar manner; and on Tuesday, the 1st of May, he set out on his return home. Four Non-Conformist ministers were lodged that night at the inn at Littleborough, the well-known stage at the foot of Blackstone-Edge, namely, the two Mr. Heywoods, the younger Mr. Angier, a son of Mr. Angier of Denton, and Mr. Starkey, formerly a fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, who removed to live amongst his own friends in Lancashire when he had been ejected from Grantham. Mr. Nathaniel Heywood and Mr. Angier went the next day to Coley, but Mr. Heywood and Mr. Starkey took their way to Bradford to visit Mr. Waterhouse, who remained there unmolested, at whose house they found old Mr. Elkana Wales, Mr. Johnson, and Mr. Sharp, all Non-Conforming ministers, with whose company Mr. Heywood was much refreshed. At night, when they were preparing to retire to rest, Mr. Heywood left Mr. Waterhouse's, and came secretly to his own house. Thus were the first six weeks spent by him after the Five Mile Act came into operation.

During his absence his family had removed from the house which he had inhabited since 1660 on Norwood-green, to Coley-hall, "a sweet habitation near the chapel," which he shared with Captain Hodgson.

He remained at home for a fortnight, during the whole of which time he had frequent services at his house, and neither the interference of the magistracy nor the cupidity of any private informer occasioned him any inconvenience. The only difference between his condition after this Act came into operation, and before, seems to be, that he deemed it prudent to be more frequently absent than before. We find him making a round of visits among his friends who lived in the pleasant tract of country between the Wharf and the Aire, going first to Bingley, where he found Mr. Bentley complaining of an unsuitable abode. He passed from thence to Menston to visit Colonel Charles Fairfax (a brother of old Ferdinando Lord Fairfax), the antiquary of a family to whom religion and learning have many obligations. From thence he went to Mr. Dyneley's at Bramhope, where he spent several days, and then removed to Rawden, in the parish of Guiseley, where a very old Mr. Rawden resided, father, it is believed, of Sir George Rawden, at whose house he preached to a large auditory. Thus we see that some of the principal gentry of the country did not scruple to countenance Mr. Heywood in doing that which was opposed to the law. The truth is, they knew the integrity of his heart, and they saw and felt the value of his services to the cause of virtue and religion.

From Mr. Rawden's he proceeded to Bramley, where he was received at the house of Elias Hinchball, a man of less note, though perhaps not of less worth. Here a number of persons assembled from Leeds and other neighbouring places, and Mr. Heywood continued his discourse to them till almost midnight. On the next day he ventured into Leeds itself, a prohibited place, and where there were several persons in the magistracy very zealous for the suppression of conventicle preach-

ing. He preached, however, at night in the house of John Cummin to a very great number of persons. He slept at the house of Robert Hickson, the most eminent favourer of Non-Conformity at Leeds in its then incipient state. The next night he preached at Hunslet, at the house of Geffery Beck; and on Thursday went to Wakefield, where he preached at the house of Mrs. Elizabeth Riddlesden. On Saturday he kept a fast at Mr. Kirby's, and rode the same evening to Peniston, where he preached on the Sunday openly in the Church. On Monday he came to Alverthorpe, near Wakefield, where he was entertained at the house of John Kirk, and preached at Thomas Holdsworth's. On Tuesday he went to Mr. Thorpe's, at Hopton, a minister silenced by the Act of Uniformity, though it does not appear that he had any pastoral charge. He remained there two or three days, and then proceeded to Slaughtwaite to visit Robert Binns. I give these details, partly to show how Mr. Heywood was at this time employed, and partly in what places he sowed the seed which sprang up afterwards in the form of Presbyterian dissent.

He returned home on the 1st of June, and on the 4th kept a day of thanksgiving with Captain Hodgson "for God's mercy to him in his deliverance out of prison," where he had been confined since the arrest of the Halifax men in the August of the preceding year.

Mr. Heywood has a very pertinent remark on the effects of the Five Mile Act. It tended, he says, very much to the furtherance of the gospel by producing "strange thoughts of heart and strong workings of affection at parting, and by causing doors to be opened in many places far more than was the case before," and by enlarging the acquaintance of the ministers. In fact it operated, as persecution generally does, to give union and intensity to the persecuted, and to open the springs of sympathy in good and compassionate hearts.

Sunday, June 17, he spent at Bramley, where he preached three times, and found the hearts of the people

much affected. This is a phrase which he often uses ; but there are no traces in his diaries of those violent effects which attended the ministry of the two founders of methodism in the succeeding century, with whose, in other respects, Mr. Heywood's course at this time may be compared.

On the 19th he set out on a journey to Lancashire, keeping a fast at Sowerby by the way with his friend Mr. Dawson. He visited Rochdale, and Bury where was the funeral of his aunt Winstanley, at which his brother-in-law, the younger Angier, preached what Mr. Heywood calls "a rhetorical sermon." This Mr. Angier appears to have degenerated from the habits and manners of his family*. Mr. Heywood preached on the Saturday night, and kept the Sunday at the house in Little Lever in which he was born ; and on Monday to a company of women at Manchester on his way to Denton, where the remainder of the week was spent, Mr. Seddon, another ejected minister who still continued to preach, conducting the service on the Sunday.

Mr. Angier took him another journey among the gentry of Cheshire. They went first to Dunham, the seat of Lord Delamere, the Sir George Booth of 1659, "where we were nobly treated, yet I thought home and heaven is better than all this : I had affecting considerations of the excellency of grace beyond all this worldly pomp and splendour." On the next day they went to the house of Mr. Venables, of Agden, and thence to Mr. Lea's, of Darnall, where Mrs. Lea was lately dead. They paid a visit to Mr. Crew at Utkington, and then proceeded to Sandbach to wait on Mrs. Shawcross, aunt

* When enumerating the afflictions of the older Mr. Angier, Mr. Heywood speaks thus :—"His son, his only son, devoted to God not only in Christian profession but ministerial function, miscarrying under such education, with such aggravations," &c.—*Works*, 8vo, 1827, vol. i. p. 552. He is to be distinguished from another Mr. Angier, a minister whose name will now frequently occur, who was a *nephew* of old Mr. Angier of Denton, and like him a Non-Conforming minister.

to a lady to whose hand Mr. Heywood was at this time making pretension. They then proceeded to the house of Mr. Union, near Talk-on-the-Hill, "who is something a deformed man and hath a comely wife, and is exceeding jealous of her; will needs be divorced from her; disowns some children; shuts her up upon no real ground but his own melancholic conceits." From thence they proceeded to Leek, and "visited one Mrs. Parker, Colonel Venables' daughter, who married against her father's consent: the thing is sadly aggravated, and he wonderfully exasperated against her; she weeps bitterly; hath buried two children: there God made me of some use*." They then returned to Denton.

In this summer we find him also attending a sister, who was ill, to the Spa at Knaresborough, which had been brought into repute by the writings of Dr. Dean and Dr. Wittie. Many persons from Leeds were there, and Mr. Heywood soon collected a little congregation, to whom he preached at widow Hogg's. He kept a private fast at Francis Ingle's, near the wells. On his return he visited Mr. Dyneley; but he accompanied his sister to Little Lever, preaching, as before, every day at Bolton and the villages around. Returning home, he paid visits at Chadwick-hall, near Rochdale, to Mr.

* Mrs. Parker was the mother of no less a person than Sir Thomas Parker, the first Earl of Macclesfield. This gives a value to the anecdote, and the rather as the name and family of the lady are not found in the peerages. As the earl was in his sixty-sixth year at the time of his death, April 28, 1732, it may be that the lady was *enceinte* of this great birth when the two divines were at her house. She died in 1699, and was buried in the church of Wirksworth in Derbyshire. Her father, Colonel Robert Venables, had been Governor of Chester in the Civil Wars, and was sent by Cromwell against Hispaniola. The narrative of the expedition is in Dr. Leonard Howard's *Collection of Letters*, 4to, 1753, pp. 1—21. There is a treatise on Angling, by him, which was reprinted in 1825. In Mr. Heywood's Obituary we find that he died in 1687, and was buried on the 26th of July. See, for this branch of the ancient family of Venables, Harl. MS. 2119, f. 13, where are shown three marriages of the Colonel and members of his family with the Leas of Darnall, friends of Mr. Angier.

Horton at Sowerby, and to Mrs. Root, near Sowerby-bridge.

He remained at home about a fortnight, preaching in his own house on the Sundays, where he had about forty persons to hear him, and keeping fast-days. One of them was at the house of Mary Wright, "a hearty, affectionate, active Christian, a dear companion to my sweet wife." She was ill, and died. Another was with Jonathan Priestley, who was also ill, but recovered. He was a principal member of a very numerous family of the name, eminent among the early Non-Conformists of the parish of Halifax.

On the 22nd of August he again left his house on another tour of nocturnal preachings. He visited Bramley, exposing himself again to the danger of the Leeds magistracy. He travelled with Mr. Wales, who was forced by the Act to leave his home, and was then on his way to the north with his wife*. He inspected a house, to which some of his friends wished him to remove that he might not be exposed to so much peril under the Act, but declined to take it. He visited Wakefield, where he kept a fast at Mr. Kirby's, and preached on a Sunday in the church of Peniston both morning and evening, and "had a large auditory and sweet enlargements." On this journey he visited parts of Yorkshire which he had not seen before. Mr. Swift and Mr. Richardson, another Non-Conforming minister who lived at Lassel-hall in the parish of Kirk-Heton, went with Mr. Heywood to Rotherham to visit Mr.

* The wife of Mr. Wales was Elizabeth Clavering, of Calliley, in Northumberland, aunt to Sir James Clavering of Axwell, who "had in the eminency of her Christian graces what she wanted in what the moralists of the world call the amiableness of a good nature." This is said of her by Ambrose Barnes, who knew her well, having married one of her daughters of a former marriage with Thomas Butler, a merchant of Newcastle. He says of Mr. Wales, that he was of a mild disposition, and not to be drawn from his people at Pudsey by very tempting offers made to him by Lord Fairfax, who greatly esteemed him.

Clayton, who had been the minister there before the Act, and who continued to reside there; and the next day they went on to Sheffield, where they visited Mr. Birkbeck, who had been turned out of the church of Ackworth near Pontefract, and afterwards Mr. Rowland Hancock, who had been turned out of the place of one of the assistant ministers in the church of Sheffield, and who then lived in the wild country about Bradfield. On their return they visited Mr. Cotes, another Non-Conforming minister, who had fixed his residence at the pleasant little town of Wath-upon-Deerne. They then passed to Swathe-hall, in the neighbourhood of Worsborough, where resided a member of the family of Wordsworth, a gentleman of good estate, and connected with the principal Puritan families in those parts of the country*, whose house was always open to the Non-Conforming ministry. Mr. Heywood next visited the cheerful little village of Cawthorn, and preached there at a friend's house in the night. From thence he passed to Denton, having Mr. Hawden, who had been ejected at Brodsworth, in his company. He preached publicly there on Sunday the 2nd of September. He returned to Peniston, where he kept the fast on account of the plague on the 5th, preaching publicly from ten till four. He then returned through Wakefield home.

He writes thus on the 24th of September:—"The Lord hath thus long graciously continued me in safety at mine own house; and I have spent three Lord's Days at home, and have had above three-score on a-day; kept a fast, preached on the week-days, and found much of the Lord's gracious presence and wonderful providence watching over me, though it was pretty generally known

* Mr. Heywood was a very frequent visitor at Swathe-hall in the time of Mr. Wordsworth, who died in 1690. Three of his wives,—for he was four times married,—were daughters respectively of persons who had been leaders in the Puritan movement of the late times, namely, Robert Hyde of Denton, Mr. Angier's friend, Major Spencer of Attercliffe, and Sir Edward Rodes of Great Houghton.

that I was at home, God stirring up many from several parts to come to spend the Sabbath with me." On that day, however, he again left his home, going to Hag-stocks, and Bowood, where he visited his "good friend" James Robinson, and so to Rochdale. There he lodged at the house of Matthew Hallows, and preached; as he did on the following day, at Chadwick-hall, reaching Little Lever at night. On the Friday night he preached at Mr. Whitehead's, who had married his sister, and on Saturday at Thomas Crompton's. He spent the Sunday in the house where he was born, where his sister Whitehead and her husband then lived, "and God helped wonderfully to preach and pray amongst some hundreds of people." On Monday night he preached at Joseph Moxon's, in Bolton. On Tuesday he went to Ormskirk to visit his brother, but not finding him at home (for he was absent, "being as busy at work as I,") went to Eccleston and Leland, and returned to Bolton on Thursday in time to preach at night at the house of George Holt. On the next night he preached at Laurence Crompton's, and spent the Sunday at Mr. Brown's at Holcombe in the parish of Bury. On the Monday he passed to Denton, visiting Manchester in the way. On the Tuesday, accompanied by his cousin Bradshaw, an ejected minister, he visited again his favourite and favoured Peniston, and kept there the public fast for the burning of London, "the Lord assisting us both very graciously." On the Thursday Mr. Jollie was with them, and the three ministers kept a fast at the house of Isaac Wadsworth (Wordsworth), "a good man, but much afflicted." On Friday he was at Cawthorne, where he visited the families of Nathaniel Bottomley and his brother Roebuck, who was sick. On the Saturday he arrived at Swathe-hall, and preached in the night. In the morning he was away early and back to Peniston, no very short or easy ride, where he preached in the afternoon, Mr. Bradshaw preaching in the morning. He lodged with the Wordsworths at Waterhall.

On the Monday he set his face homewards, visiting Mrs. Richardson, the wife of Mr. Richardson the ejected minister, and Mr. Thorpe, another ejected minister, reaching home on the 15th of October, having been absent three weeks. Some change had taken place in the abode of his family during his absence, though still inhabiting Coley-hall. This led him to remark, "What a clear emblem am both I and my family of a fitting condition in this world!"

Mr. Heywood began to be weary of this rambling life, and he entertained at this time serious thoughts of removing himself and his family into Lancashire, where he might live in his own house in peace. He had also another inducement,—the better opportunities which he should have for the education of his sons, who were now of the ages of nine and ten years*. The change in his intention he attributes entirely to the persuasive importunity of his kind neighbours and hearers.

"Here I stayed at home almost three weeks, in which time I preached in mine own house three times every week (besides some work abroad), where we had more solemn and numerous meetings than formerly, almost an hundred persons at once. We have a more private place than ever before, where I can sing and speak as loud as I please without fear of being overheard." On the 3rd of November we find him again at Peniston, where he preached on the next day, being Sunday, and "enjoyed the sweet sealing ordinance of the Lord's Supper according to institution." Mr. Modesley administered it. On Monday, the 5th of November, Mr. Garside preached, who was the Cheshire Non-Conforming minister of that name. On the Tuesday, he, Mr.

* Mr. Heywood notices, about this time, the appearances of religion in the minds of his two sons. He once heard them repeating, while in bed, long passages of Scripture, the younger the 10th chapter of the Book of Revelation, and the elder the 12th. They had learned catechisms long before, and had indeed been brought up very much as Mr. Heywood had himself been educated.

Heywood and Mr. Hawden kept a fast with Leonard Appleyard, of the parish of Peniston, "a good man." On the Wednesday he kept the monthly fast in public, and went that evening to Mr. Sotwell's at Cat-hill, and on Thursday to Mr. Cotton's at Moor-end, in the adjoining parish of Silkston. On the Friday he went to Mr. Wordsworth's at Swathe-hall, where he kept the Sabbath with great satisfaction.

On the Monday Mr. Wordsworth and he travelled to Rotherham to visit Mr. Clayton, at whose house they found Mr. Hancock, who accompanied them to Laughton-en-le-Morthen, where resided Mr. John Hatfield, a gentleman of good estate and a member of a very extensive family connexion, including most of the principal gentry in those parts of Yorkshire, who had been exceedingly active in all the Puritan efforts of the preceding times. It included the Westbys of Ravenfield, the Spencers of Attercliffe, the Brights of Carbrook, the Gills of Car-house, the Rodes of Great Houghton, the Staniforths of Firbeck, the Knights of Langold, and the Taylors of Wallingwells. The heads of several of these families had eminent military command in the wars, and others had served the Parliament as members of committees for divers purposes in the West Riding. Of this circle of Parliamentary families the town of Rotherham may be regarded as the centre, and there were few parts of England where the Puritan principle prevailed in an equal extent among the families of the best account. This was Mr. Heywood's first introduction among them, and we shall find as we proceed that he was frequently received by them at their halls, and that his ministerial services were highly acceptable. At Laughton he found the Mrs. Martha Hatfield mentioned in a note at p. 167, of whom he only says that there "were many strange things recorded in a book concerning her." She was sister to his host; and the author of the book in which her sayings during the paroxysms of her extraordinary complaint are treasured up, was Mr. Fisher, the ejected

vicar of Sheffield, who had married a sister of her father, Mr. Anthony Hatfield. Mr. John Hatfield was twice married, first to a Disney of Swinderby, and afterwards to Antonina Norcliffe, a daughter of Lady Norcliffe of Langton, who was by birth a Fairfax, whose kindness to the Non-Conforming ministry is celebrated by Dr. Calamy. At Laughton also he met with Mr. Whitehurst, who had been ejected from the church of that town, but was living there undisturbed, notwithstanding the Act.

Mr. Heywood's visit was very short, as was always the case with him. From Laughton he was taken to Ravenfield, where Mr. George Westby resided, when his acquaintance with that family began. He passed to the house of Mr. Cotes at Wath, thence to Mr. Wordsworth's at Swathe-hall, and returned home, preaching at Wakefield by the way.

He recommenced his itinerant labours on Monday, the 3rd of December. On this occasion he went first to Mr. John Sharp's at Little Horton, near Bradford, the father of Mr. Thomas Sharp who had been ejected at Addle. Addle had been a sequestered parsonage, Dr. Hitch having been removed in the Parliament times in pursuance of an ordinance against pluralities*. A religious meeting was appointed at Horton, at which

* Of this eminent churchman there are many notices in Mr. Heywood's papers, of which the most material is the following:—"February 10, 1676-7, died Dr. Hitch, dean of York, parson of Guiseley (where he died, and was buried February 16), vicar of Normanton, parson of Addle, aged eighty-two, one of the richest churchmen in the country. He stated his son in 1100*l.* a-year, and his grandchild in 200*l.* a-year. He gave the parsonage of Addle, with his daughter, to Dr. Brearey, who thereupon turned from being a civilian to be a preacher. He had resigned Addle in the Parliament time, who had passed an Act against pluralities, but at the king's return sued for it again, and cast Mr. Arthington, as having done it unwillingly. He used to boast that for divinity, law, and physic he would play with any man. A man of parts; he practised physic; was said to be in a consumption thirty years before he died." If there were many such instances as this, we cannot much wonder at the Puritan objections to a state of things which allowed of them. Dr. Hitch's posterity flourished at Leathley for several generations.

Mr. Sharp the younger was to have preached, but the work was put upon Mr. Heywood, who was always ready and always welcome. On Tuesday night he preached at Mr. Rawden's of Rawden; on Wednesday at Joseph Kitchen's, at Farsley; on Thursday at Leeds; on Friday he visited Mr. Clayton of Okenshaw; and on Saturday reached the house of Sir Edward Rodes of Great Houghton, who had invited him*. He spent the Sunday there "with much comfort." On Monday he was at Wath; on Tuesday visited Mr. Vincent at Barnborough-grange †; and on Thursday came to Swatthall. He preached at Peniston on the Sunday; on Monday visited Mrs. Sotwell at Cat-hill, and "dined at Gunthwaite with Major Sedascue, a German ‡." Though

* Sir Edward Rodes was a son of Sir Godfrey Rodes, and grandson of Francis Rodes, a judge in the reign of Elizabeth. He was in possession of the estate of Great Houghton at the beginning of the Civil Wars, and one of the first acts of hostility in those parts of Yorkshire was an attack upon his house there in the beginning of September 1642. He was closely united in opinion with the Hothams, and it was chiefly through the opposition which this party made to it that the scheme for the neutrality of Yorkshire in the impending contest was frustrated. But he was soon amongst those who wished to retrace their steps, and was arrested with the two Hothams and committed to the Tower. He however served the Parliament faithfully in a military capacity, and afterwards under Cromwell in Scotland, of whose Privy Council he was, and member in one of his parliaments for the shire of Perth. After the Restoration he lived quietly at Houghton, where he died in February 1667, a few weeks after Mr. Heywood's visit. In 1650 he founded a chapel, near the hall, for the performance of religious service.

† This was the head of another of the large landed families in those parts of the West Riding, father-in-law to Mr. Samuel Cotes, the ejected minister, then living at Wath. He died on July 15, 1667, "*fide evangelicâ, verè catholicâ,*" an expression in his epitaph in the church of Barnborough which appears to be directed against his neighbours at the Hall, the Mores, descendants of Sir Thomas More, and inheritors of his attachment to the Roman Catholic Church.

‡ Gunthwaite was the seat of the Bosviles, two of whom had been distinguished on the Parliament side in the wars; but they were both dead, and the estate was at this time a minor's. Major Sedascue, who inhabited the house, had married one of the Bosviles. He was a Bohemian, a supporter of the Elector Palatine, on whose defeat he

it was the depth of winter, he set out after dinner from Gunthwaite for Denby-grange; but having received wrong instructions concerning the road, and it being a thick mist, he lost his way on Emley-moor, and so turned to Hopton-hall. After two days' stay there he visited Lassel-hall and Denby-grange, reaching home on the 19th of December.

These notes of Mr. Heywood's, of his itinerant labours, bring us acquainted with the persons who in those parts of Yorkshire and Lancashire opened their houses to the Non-Conforming ministry when they were preaching in open defiance of the law, and were the fathers of Protestant Dissent in those parts. They present information which is of the most authentic kind, and they are now, it is believed, the sole remaining memorials of what was done in preparation for the rise of the various Non-Conforming societies which arose in this district. And with the view of perpetuating their names and services, and giving definiteness to this portion of English ecclesiastical history, I proceed to give further accounts of the journeys of this indefatigable man at this period of his life.

On December 31, 1666, he set out for Lancashire, baptizing a child at Halifax by the way, and preaching at Rochdale at night. On the next day he was at Little Lever, where he met his brother, Mr. Nathaniel Heywood, and they preached together at the houses of their three brothers-in-law, who resided in that neighbourhood, William Whitehead, Thomas Crompton, and Samuel Bradley, to a multitude of auditors. On the Monday he went to Bolton, and "at night up to High Horrocks, where he preached on Tuesday all day," returning to Bolton, where at night he preached at the house of George Holt. On Wednesday he preached at Thomas Mason's at Little Lever, and at night at Peter Heywood's. On Thursday a solemn fast was kept at

fled to England, and became an officer in the Parliament army. He died at Heath-hall, near Wakefield, in 1688.

William Whitehead's. On Friday he went to Manchester, and preached at night at the house of Mr. James Hulton of Droiltsden, an old Commonwealth officer. He passed on to Denton, and preached at the chapel on Sunday. On Monday he accompanied Mr. Angier to Mobberley to the funeral of old Mrs. Robinson, and slept at Knutsford at the house of Mr. Antrobus, "who used me exceeding courteously." He remained a day or two at Denton, and on his return dined at Mr. Ran's at Ashton-under-Line, and lodged at Chadwick-hall, which we now find to have been the residence of a relative named Edmund Hill.

A singular circumstance had just occurred in the neighbourhood of Manchester, of which I find no notice in Mr. Heywood's papers, and derive my information from another source. Colonel Birch, a Parliamentary officer, permitted two wandering ministers from Germany to preach at Birch-hall on Sunday the 18th of November, 1666. They were engaged from nine to three speaking very fluently, denouncing all manner of woe to England, and exhorting people to fly and take refuge in Germany. They sang two German hymns with well-tuned voices, the purport of one of which, when sung at the house of an old Commonwealth officer, beginning

"Hark how the trumpet sounds,"

might well excite some alarm in the minds of the neighbouring Royalists. The magistrates took the opportunity of putting the Conventicle Act in force against Colonel Birch and several persons who were present at this meeting, amongst whom was the wife of Ralph Worsley, a gentleman of Rusholm, ancestor of the Worsleys of Platt, friends of the Non-Conformists. Against the Non-Conforming ministers, the magistrates of South Lancashire had acted with much moderation.

Mr. Heywood remained at home for a fortnight, preaching on Sundays and week-days as usual, and on January 31 set out on another preaching tour, which was this time in Yorkshire. On that night he and Mr.

Sharp preached at Bowling, near Bradford ; on Friday he lodged at Mr. Sale's of Pudsey, and on Saturday went forward to Bramley, where he preached three times on the Sunday. He preached again at Samuel Ellison's, near Bramley, on the Monday, and on Tuesday ventured to enter the corporate town of Leeds, where he visited friends, baptized several children, but, being indisposed, was unable to preach. On the next day he was better and preached, visited a sick person, and then travelled to Bramhope, where he prayed with Mr. William Dyneley, then near his death in a consumption, and afterwards preached to the household. He preached to them again in the morning, and then proceeded to Mr. Rawden's of Rawden, where he preached on Friday, February 8. He returned home by Bradford, where he lodged at the house of Mr. Waterhouse, the minister.

On Friday, the 15th, he set out again. He went first to Slaughtwaite, where he lodged at the house of Robert Binns, where the younger of the two Roots then lived, whom he sent to Coley in his absence. From thence he went to Denton, where he preached, and heard his cousin Samuel Angier, who was then newly come out of Essex to assist his uncle, in the other part of the day. He spent some days visiting friends about Stockport and Manchester ; spent some days at Little Lever, preaching six times ; returned to Denton, and his cousin Samuel Angier accompanied him to his house at Coley, where Mr. Jollie met him. They kept a thanksgiving day for Jonathan Priestley's recovery.

On Friday, March 15, he went to Wakefield, where he lodged with his good friend William Heaward, and preached at Mr. Kirby's on Saturday morning. He spent the Sunday, preaching as usual, at Peniston, and lodged at the house of Thomas Hague of Carlcotes, then newly married to a friend of Mr. Heywood's. He went from thence to Denton, where he kept a private fast at Mrs. Arderne's at Denton-hall ; six ministers were engaged. On Wednesday he went to Little Lever, where

he preached at James Barlow's and elsewhere, and, returning to Denton, preached twice on the Sunday. He visited Manchester and Rochdale, and returned home on the 27th.

On Saturday, April 6, he went again to Peniston, Mr. Dawson accompanying him. They visited Mr. Thorpe by the way. He preached twice on the Sunday "called Easter Day," which is the way in which, with a not very intelligible scrupulosity, he speaks of the ancient Christian festivals, Easter and Christmas. There was a large assembly. On Monday he was at William Roebuck's at Cawthorne, where he met Mr. Kirby to hold a prayer-meeting on a special occasion. On the next day he rode to Denton and forward to Manchester.

He stayed at Manchester to "hold a consultation about a solemn business," which was nothing less than his own intended marriage. The lady was Abigail Crompton, one of many daughters of James Crompton* of Brightmet, in the parish of Bolton, one of the good old Puritan families of that parish. She was at that time thirty-two years old. He spent a few days in the neighbourhood, his brother, Mr. Nathaniel Heywood, meeting him, and returned to Coley on the 12th.

On the 18th he was away again, into the heart of the West Riding, preaching first at the house of William

* There was, as we have seen, a previous connexion between Mr. Heywood's family and the Cromptons at Brightmet, by the marriage of his sister Hannah with Thomas Crompton of that village, and even a still earlier consanguinity. How Thomas and James were related, does not appear; nor how either of them stood related to Abraham Crompton of the same place, the father of John Crompton, a minister, who was born at Brightmet, and ejected at Arnold, in Nottinghamshire. But no doubt there was a near consanguinity among them. John Crompton, the ejected minister, had two sons, both of whom were the ancestors of families of great worth and respectability. The elder, Abraham, was the ancestor of Sir Samuel Crompton, who was created a baronet in 1837, and of several other families of the name settled in Lancashire, Yorkshire and Derbyshire; the younger, Samuel, was a Non-Conforming minister at Doncaster, and was the ancestor of families of the name at Gainsborough and Birmingham.

Thompson, near Kirkstall-abbey, where he had a great auditory. On the next day he preached at Leeds, "at the house of Matthew Boyse, a godly ancient Christian, that hath been in New England*." At night he went to Mr. Ralph Spencer's, a merchant of Leeds, and on the next day to Mr. Rawden's at Rawden, where he spent the Sunday and conducted a service, which he concluded the earlier, because Dr. Hitch, the dean of York and rector of Guiseley, in which parish Mr. Rawden lived, was "to pay that ancient gentleman a visit that day, which he did." Mr. Heywood does not inform us whether he had on this occasion an interview with the dean. He left Mr. Rawden on Monday, and proceeded to Bramley, which appears to have been a favourite place, and at night preached at Farsley, at the house of Joseph Kitchen. The next day he was applied to by a gentlewoman of Pudsey† and two other persons under great trouble of mind; and, visiting Mr. Sharp by the way, arrived at home on the 23rd.

April 29, he set out for Lancashire; lodged and preached at Matthew Hallows' at Rochdale; and lodged the next night at Mr. Hulton's at Manchester. "That night," says he, "they have a foolish custom after twelve o'clock to rise and ramble abroad, make garlands, strew flowers, &c., which they call *Bringing in May*. I could sleep little that night by reason of the tumult." This was one of the ancient and beautiful customs of the country with which the spirit of Puritanism had long been at war. It had spoken in the reign of Elizabeth, by the mouth of Philip Stubbs, in his 'Anatomy of Abuses,' and, in later times more feebly, by the mouth of Thomas Hall, the ejected minister of King's Norton, in his 'Downfall of May-games‡.' He went the next

* Father, I believe, of Boyse, the Non-Conforming minister at Dublin, author of various works.

† No doubt, Mrs. Milner, as appears afterwards.

‡ Mr. Heywood had fully imbibed the spirit of writings such as these:—"At the very time the king came in, 1660, at Chorley there

morning to Denton, and on the following day accompanied his sister and cousin Angier to visit his brother Angier at Dean, where he left them and proceeded to Little Lever. The next morning he went to Heaton-hall, near Prestwich, on business to Mr. Lawrence Fog, and then to James Hardman's of Bradfield, near Heywood-chapel, where he preached. He was then on his way towards home, and one is tempted to ask, how it is that we see nothing of Brightmet and Mrs. Abigail Crompton, in contemplation of his marriage with whom he had kept the 25th of April, "that the Almanacks call St. Mark's Day," as a religious solemnity. He called at his cousin Edmund Hill's; then on Mrs. Horton* of Barkisland, "who was to send her son to Oxford on Monday morning," and that night came to Robert Ramsden's house, near Ealand-park, where he preached on Sunday, May 5, and came to his own house at night. In the morning he took leave of Captain Hodgson's son, who was going with Mr. Thomas Horton to Oxford.

Thursday, May 23, he set out again for Lancashire, taking his children and servant with him. They spent several days with Mr. Angier at Denton, one of which was the anniversary day of the king's return, when there was a service in which Mr. Heywood took a part. He then went to Bolton; preached at his brother Thomas Crompton's in Brightmet; kept a fast at his father's house at Waterside, preached at Adam Ferniside's, and at his uncle Francis Critchlaw's. He returned home by Denton.

was a stately May-pole erected, upon which was set a crown and a cross with a coat of arms, and adorned with brave garlands. At certain times every year they met there, and had hired a piper to play on Sundays and holy-days; and had very lately dressed it. But in July, 1666, there was terrible thunder, and the thunder-bolt split it to shivers, and carried the ornaments nobody knows whither, and broke it to the very bottom, though set two yards within the ground. This is a certain truth; I looked at the place."

* Wife or widow of Mr. Heywood's landlord at Coley-hall. The son here mentioned settled in the country, married one of the daughters of Thornhill of Fixby, and died in 1699, leaving co-heirs.

Wednesday, January 19, he went to Sheffield, on a special call to keep a fast at Mr. Birkbeck's house; "where I preached and went to prayer, but found not wanted enlargement or assistance; as to personal matters I was in some measure helped, but in public concerns I was much straitened. It was a solemn day; we were ten ministers; good old Mr. Wales concluded the work. The truth is, there was a choice minister, one Mr. Sylvester* of Mansfield, whom the Lord did wonderfully carry out in the duty of prayer. Blessed be God for that day." He visited Mr. Sotwell at Cat-hill, and his friends at Wakefield, in his way home.

On June 25, he went again into Lancashire; and on Thursday, the 27th, was married by Mr. Hide at Salford Chapel. Nearly twenty persons were at the wedding, but all of the nearest relations to the parties. On the Sunday after he went to the church at Manchester, where he heard Mr. Weston, and in the afternoon to the chapel at Salford, where Mr. Hide preached; and at night he himself preached at Mr. Hulton's, whom he now begins to call brother, the wife of Mr. Hulton being a sister to his bride. It may be presumed that at this time his sentence of excommunication had been removed.

Mr. Heywood was not to be long detained from his beloved work. On the Tuesday we find him engaged with Mr. Newcome and Mr. Finch in keeping a fast at Hulm-hall with his aunt Moseley†. In the course of the week they visited Mr. Heywood's relations at Bolton and in the neighbourhood. On the Sunday he attended the church at Bolton, but preached himself at night;

* This was Mr. Matthew Sylvester, ejected at Gunnerby, in Lincolnshire, who appears to have been at this time residing among his relations of the same name at Mansfield, a town to which several of the Non-Conformist ministers retired during the existence of the Five Mile Act. He lived afterwards in London, where he contracted a great intimacy with Baxter, whose 'History of his Own Life and Times' Mr. Sylvester published after Baxter's decease.

† A sister, or sister-in-law, of the second wife of Mr. Angier of Denton.

spent two days with his brother Okey*, and preached there; visited his brother Crompton at Brightmet-hill; kept a private fast at William Crompton's at Darcy Lever, and on Friday returned to Coley, leaving his wife in Lancashire; but returned the Monday after, and on the 25th of July he brought her into Yorkshire, some friends accompanying them as far as Middleton, and others meeting them at the inn at Littleborough.

In the month of August they visited together the families with whom Mr. Heywood was intimate in the neighbourhood of Peniston, and also others who lived in the direction of Leeds.

* For this person there is, or at least lately was, a singular and not very well conceived epitaph in the church-yard of Bolton, which has been so often printed, that I content myself with this general notice of it.

CHAPTER X.

1667—1672.

REASONS FOR THE PENAL LAWS BEING NOT ENFORCED WITH MORE SEVERITY.—DISPOSITION TOWARDS NON-CONFORMISTS OF THREE NORTHERN LIEUTENANTS, THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, THE EARL OF DERBY AND THE EARL OF DEVONSHIRE.—ANECDOTES.—CHANGE OF THE MINISTRY.—ATTEMPT AT A COMPREHENSION OF THE PRESBYTERIANS AND A TOLERATION OF THE INDEPENDENTS.—FAILS.—THINGS REMAIN AS THEY WERE, AND MR. HEYWOOD PURSUES THE SAME COURSE.—STATE OF SOCIETY AT BINGLEY.—VARIOUS JOURNEYS OF MR. HEYWOOD.—DEATHS OF SEVERAL NON-CONFORMING MINISTERS.—PUBLISHES HIS *HEART-TREASURE*.—APPEARS AGAIN IN HIS OLD CHAPEL AT COLEY.—LADY HOYLE.—OTHER JOURNEYS.—PUBLISHES HIS *CLOSET-PRAYER*.—THE TWO ROOTS.—PUBLISHES HIS *SURE MERCIES OF DAVID*.—MR. HEYWOOD IMPRISONED AT LEEDS.—DISTRRAINT UPON HIS GOODS.—PURCHASES LAND.—THE HUTTONS.—OATES'.—DEATH OF MRS. HORTON.—WITCHCRAFT.—SUMMARY OF MR. HEYWOOD'S LABOURS.

WE are now arrived at the autumn of 1667. We have seen the bold manner in which Mr. Heywood proceeded to act in defiance of the law, and how little molested he really was ; alarmed, indeed, at times, but neither fined, imprisoned, nor even taken before the magistrates. We have also seen incidentally that the provisions of the Conventicle Act and those of the Oxford or Five Mile Act were as much disregarded by his brother at Ormskirk, and his father-in-law at Denton, as well as by other ministers, but few of whom suffered the penalties denounced, in comparison with those who escaped.

The explanation of this anomalous state of affairs is to be found, in part, in the unwillingness, so natural to the noble mind of the better class of Englishmen, to

put in force the provisions of Acts which press severely against any body of men where the guilt is purely technical and legal, and the conduct, were there no law touching the case, unequivocally meritorious. The policy of the Earl of Clarendon was not adopted without strong opposition, and, amongst others, the three lords who were the Lieutenants of the counties of York, Lancaster and Derby were not men who were disposed to lend their aid to the strengthening of the Church by the persecution of either Non-Conformists or Papists. In Derbyshire, the Earl of Devonshire was an enemy to all tyrannical measures, as the house of Cavendish has ever been*. In Lancashire, the Earl of Derby, though the son of James, the Earl who had been put to death in the days of Puritan ascendancy, showed no particular affection for the Church as then restored†; and in York-

* Thomas Stanley, who had been ejected at Eyam in that county, continued with his people, and joined Mr. Mompesson, who had succeeded him in that place, in ministering to them when the village was desolated by the Plague in 1666. Bagshaw, the author of a very pleasing little volume, entitled *De Spiritualibus Peccis, or Notes of the Works of God, and of those who have been Workers with God in the Peak of Derbyshire* (8vo, 1702), thus speaks of the Earl of Devonshire having thrown his protection over him:—"When some who might have been better employed moved the then noble Earl of Devonshire, Lord-Lieutenant, to remove him out of the town, I am told, by the credible, that he said, 'It is more reasonable that the whole country should, in more than words, testify their thankfulness to him, who, together with his care of the town, had taken such care as no one else did to prevent the infection of the towns adjacent.'" (p. 64.)

† I find the three following anecdotes of the Earl of Derby in a manuscript in the hand-writing of Mr. Newcome of Manchester, containing notes of his correspondence and of some of the occurrences of his time:—Sir Roger Bradshaigh, a great enemy of the Puritans, complained to the Earl of conventicles held at Toxteth-park and St. Helen's, and of the Earl's remissness in not suppressing them, seeing they were so near his seat at Knowsley; when the Earl told him, that if he took up these, he should take up all, meaning the Papists. Another story is this; and is perhaps scarcely credible in the form in which it is told. The Bishop of Chester preached at Knowsley; his subject was the observance of Sunday; he was en-

shire, that influential office was held by the Duke of Buckingham, who had married the daughter of Lord Fairfax, the Parliament's General, and who was an enemy to the policy of Lord Clarendon, if not from any better principle, yet from the desire of supplanting him in the king's favour and effecting a total change of the ministry*. These political intrigues were also favourable to

tertained at the earl's house, who, to put an affront upon him, after dinner called for tables to play with Sir Roger Bradshaigh. The bishop was offended, and left Knowsley sooner than he intended. The Rector of Walton, who was a Heywood of Heywood, on one occasion entreated the earl to interfere to put down the conventicle at Toxteth-park. The earl asked him, What the people did when they met? The rector replied, they preached and prayed: "If that be all," replied the earl, "why should they be restrained? Will you neither preach nor pray yourselves, nor suffer others to preach and pray?"

Mr. Heywood notices his death thus:—"The Earl of Derby is lately dead, Lord Charles, having endured a long pining disease. His body was opened, and the physician found not one drop of blood in all his body, except a drop or two at his heart. He died this December ultimo, 1672. It calls to my thoughts his commanding Mr. Christian to be shot to death in the Isle of Man, upon his mother's instigation, for delivering up the castle there to the Parliament upon terms, many years before, in the war. But this was upon the king's coming in, for which his Majesty frowned on him. Christian's blood shed, left no blood in noble blood. There's a loss of him in Lancashire, as being the great bulwark against Papists."

* The Duke of Buckingham was the second Villiers who bore that title. His strange inconsistent character is known to every one. He had a Non-Conforming minister for his chaplain, and when the Lady Fairfax, his mother-in-law, died, he proposed that her funeral sermon should be preached publicly by this Non-Conformist. The archbishop interposed, and the duke sent him a scornful message by his secretary. When there was an intention among the clergy of York to obtain sentences of excommunication against all who did not receive the sacrament at Easter, the duke waited in person on the archbishop at Bishopsthorpe, to induce him to stay the proceedings. Another thing told of him is, that when Morley, Bishop of Winchester, urged in the king's presence the necessity of putting down conventicles, as if they were not put down the churches would be deserted, the duke remarked to him in rougher terms than I choose to print, "You should preach better and live better, and then your congregations would be as full as theirs." In Mr. Newcome's MS. there is an account of his duel with the Earl of Shrewsbury, which happened at the very time when the measure for

the Non-Conformists. They ended in the disgrace and dismissal of the Earl of Clarendon in the autumn of this year, and in his place being filled by persons who had less defined projects in relation to Church-affairs, or who sought the accomplishment of their purposes with less decided efforts.

Two other circumstances were also favourable at this period to the Non-Conformists. One was the personal conduct of the king, by which the moral sense and the piety of the nation could not but be greatly shocked and offended. How far the clergy about the court, or the Conforming clergy at large, may have been justly chargeable with not having raised the warning voice and asserted the universal obligations of Christianity, we are perhaps, at this distance of time, not well able to judge; or whether the ministers of the Church as established were as zealous in the more important duties of their office, as such times demanded, when the ancient sobriety and respectability of the English gentry were changing to habits too nearly resembling those of the court (of which there were too many examples in the county in which Mr. Heywood resided); but, under such circumstances, the moral sense, the religion and the piety of the nation would not really disapprove the conduct of men who spoke Christian truths with Christian boldness, even though they might lament that this was done at the expense of that Christian union and order which it is so desirable to maintain, and of that respect for law which it is so dangerous to violate.

comprehension of this year was in progress. The earl was slain. The event appears to have wrought very strongly on the duke's mind, if the following report was true, which occurs in a letter written in the month of March:—"The Duke of Buckingham is become a most eminent convert from all the vanities he hath been reported to have been addicted to; hath had a solemn day of prayer for the completing and confirming the great work upon him. Dr. Owen and others of the like persuasion [Independents] were the carriers on of the work. He is said to keep correspondence with the chief of those parties. He grows more and more in favour and power."

The other favourable circumstance was the occurrence at this period of two great calamities in the city of London. The conduct of the Non-Conforming ministers during the Plague had been so self-sacrificing, so honourable to them, and useful, as to have won over many to a feeling of complacency towards them who did not concur with them in the duty of separation:—and when the churches were burnt in the fire, they who could convert, in a moment, a dwelling-house into a church, found themselves almost the only persons who could pour consolation into the hearts of an afflicted and grateful people.

The Duke of Buckingham came into power towards the close of the year 1667, and one of the first measures of the new government was a scheme for toleration and comprehension,—that is, comprehension for the Presbyterians, and toleration for the Independents and other sectaries. The Lord Keeper Bridgeman was the person to whom the management of this affair was committed, and he entered into communication with Dr. Manton and Mr. Baxter, the heads of the Presbyterians. Terms were agreed upon, which Baxter says would have been satisfactory to fourteen hundred of the Non-Conforming ministers. What they were, may be seen in his *Reliquiæ**, or in Dr. Calamy's 'Abridgement†.' Some of the difficulties were smoothed; but the whole scheme was defeated by a strong opposition to it of the greater part of the clergy. The bill was drawn by Chief Justice Hale, but before it could be introduced, a vote was passed in one or both of the Houses, "that no man should bring an Act of this nature into the House." So that things remained as they were, and the Conventicle Act, the term of which was near expiring, was renewed for a further period.

Serious expectations were entertained by some persons that this plan of comprehension and toleration would have succeeded; but others had no such expecta-

* Part iii. p. 33.

† p. 317.

tion, and it was supposed that the opposition of the Independents would of itself be fatal to it. On the 4th of January, I find Mr. Henry Ashhurst writing to one of his Non-Conforming friends in Lancashire, Mr. Newcome of Manchester, "It is upon good grounds supposed that you must have your pulpits again;" but his correspondent took a juster view of the probable issue:—"When I hear such talk, I think of the story of Sancho the Third, King of Spain; his elder brother's children were put beside the crown for their helpless infancy, and are kept out to this day; but the daughter and heir of that line is now married into the family, which is now the Duke of Medina Celi, and every duke doth, in course, once in his time, formally petition the King of Spain for restoration to the crown. The king, in course, gives this answer, '*Mo est liger*' [*No es lugar*], 'There is no room.' So our just liberty is talked of, by fits in course, and in course doth off with *Mo est liger*, There is no room.—God can dig the Rehoboth (Genesis xxvi. 22), and then we shall have room; on him will we wait."

On the 18th, Mr. Ashhurst writes:—"Mr. Baxter and Dr. Wilkins [afterwards Bishop of Chester, a great favourer of the measure] were with the Lord Keeper about the drawing of an Act of Comprehension. Mr. Baxter drew up a part of it. Liberty will be granted; *Now there is room*; because the necessities of the king's affairs enforce him to it. Mr. Baxter fears lest they contrive some subtle words to entrap good people. Others say the assenting to the Thirty-Nine Articles shall be the qualification of a preaching minister, but there is nothing fully determined." And again, on the 25th:—"Liberty will stand or fall by the Parliament; but the Speaker of the House of Commons, who is Episcopal, saith that it is fit to place you in your pulpits, because the Lord's hand hath appeared so against us, since your ejection. You see what God can do." And again, February 1:—"There will certainly now be *room*, if the Independents

do not frustrate our hopes, by rejecting that which the old Puritans would have leaped at ; they say they desire no more liberty." But on the 24th of March he wrote thus:—" I must now acquaint you with news as sad as true. After all our hopes the Parliament hath turned you all out of doors. On Wednesday last your business was debated, and referred until that day three weeks. Yesterday, unexpectedly, they debated the renewing the Act against Conventicles, when several Hot-spurs pleaded hard for the Lawn-sleeves, pretending such tumultuous meetings would end in rebellion, and forgot nothing that might incense the Moderates themselves, and at twelve o'clock it was ordered that three persons should draw up a new Bill against Conventicles, which will, it is thought, be more severe."

The change of ministry did not, therefore, in effect do any thing to change the position of the Non-Conformists till some years after, when, as we shall see, indulgence was granted them by the king's own prerogative.

Mr. Heywood's course remained the same after his marriage as before. He held what were termed Conventicles in his own house, both on Sundays and on other days ; he frequently preached at the houses of the neighbouring gentry to whom his services were acceptable, and not unfrequently at the houses of other persons, inhabitants of the villages around him. He sometimes occupied the pulpits in the public chapels ; and he not unfrequently engaged in what may be called preaching-tours, going from one gentleman's house to another in places distant from Coley where the Puritan spirit prevailed.

It will not be expected or desired that I should follow him from house to house, which it would be easy to do by the light which his diaries now afford, in which the business of each day is entered ; or that I should proceed to the same extent in my extracts from those diaries as in the notices before given of his proceedings at the beginning of his irregular ministrations. But I shall extract sufficient to show his manner of life at this period,

which was the manner of life of many ministers beside himself; his opinions; the enlargement of the circle of his religious society; the foundation of the Non-Conformist congregations, which arose in a great measure in consequence of his exertions; with passages occasionally introduced illustrative of the state of society in those times, or anecdotes preserved by him of occurrences in the parts of the kingdom in which he lived.

On Thursday, September 5, 1667, he went to Bingley, a town in the vale of the Aire on the edge of Craven. Mr. Bentley, who had found this an uncomfortable place of residence, had not attempted to introduce Non-Conformist preaching; and Mr. Heywood observes, that the first private meeting they had had was when he preached that night at Marley-hall, which had been a seat of a branch of the family of Savile, but was then in the hands of Joshua Walker, a tenant. Bingley was regarded by him as a place of great ignorance and profaneness, but he had a considerable auditory who were much affected*.

* Bingley is one of several parishes in the West Riding of which no particular account has yet been published; so that it is not easy to identify the persons, who were all of the better quality, intended by Mr. Heywood in the following passage, the value of which will be understood whenever such history of the parish shall be undertaken:—"I being in Bingley parish, August 13, 1672, they were discoursing of the decay there was of persons of quality; and I can say, since I knew that place, there is a decay of these houses and families;—Mr. Savile of Marley, Mr. Frank of Cottingley, Mr. Binns of Rushforth, Mr. Murgatroyd of Riddlesden, Mr. Murgatroyd of Greenhill, Mr. Currow of Nostrop, Mr. Johnson, and others. Some are in debt; some imprisoned; some rooted out, title, name; some dead, posterity beggars. Oh! what unthriftiness, wickedness, doth, and God's curse for the same. This is a good lesson: Prov. iii. 33. Zech. v. 4." Mr. Savile sold his land, "lived a sharking wandering life; died at an ale-house near Elland, called Mother's-o'-th'-Cote, January 8, 1668." Mr. Binns, the owner of Rushforth-hall, was a justice of the peace and a great enemy of the Puritans in the three or four years that he lived after the Restoration. "He was a witty man. Left some three sons and as many daughters, and his estate encumbered with a debt of 2000*l*. The eldest son was improvident, spent apace; borrowed 700*l*. of Mr. Benson, clerk of assize, who, to

In the same month he was engaged in keeping a solemn fast at Robert Ramsden's of Park-nook, and another at his neighbour's, Captain Hodgson's, in which he was engaged from eight in the morning till two.

On a visit to Lancashire in October he preached with Mr. Pendlebury in Ainsworth, and again in the same township at the house of Mr. Strangeways with Mr. Aspinal, who had been ejected at Mattersey in Nottinghamshire*. He visited his brother at Ormskirk; preached at Adam Fernside's in Little Lever in company with Mr. Holme; and again at Captain Seddon's. On his

recover it, compelled him to sell his land, which he did to Mr. Busfield of Leeds for 2900*l.*, out of which, when Mr. Benson was paid, and the portions to the younger children, nothing remained for him. He became besotted." When the Non-Conformists were allowed to hold meetings in 1673 under licence from the king, Mr. Heywood obtained a licence for Rushforth-hall, of which Joshua Walker was the tenant under Mr. Busfield, who, however, soon compelled him to have the licence withdrawn. Of the owners of Riddlesden-hall, Mr. Heywood's account is even less favourable. In the time of the war it was sold to Mr. James Murgatroyd by Mr. Rushworth, a man of indifferent character, who reserved a room for his own residence, and as much corn and malt as would maintain him, but sold them also, and died miserably at Keighley. Of his two sons, the eldest, named John, died in York Castle, a prisoner for debt, and his younger son lived in an extremely poor condition at Riddlesden. The Murgatroyds were no better. John Murgatroyd succeeded his father; he was a profane debauched person; disinherited his eldest son, who married a daughter of Mr. Savile of Marley. The other four sons inherited the estate in quick succession, killing themselves by intemperance. When they were dead, the estate came to the eldest son, who enjoyed it five years, but was extravagant, and mortgaged it. There are further notices of misconduct, extravagance, vice and imprisonment, and finally the sale of Riddlesden-hall, which Mr. Heywood says was a magnificent house, built new by Mr. James Murgatroyd, who was accounted worth 2000*l.* a-year. It became the property of Mr. Edmund Starkey. "That family, the Murgatroyds, is the most dreadful instance in the country; all that know tell strange passages of them."

* To the account of Mr. Aspinal given by Dr. Calamy, it may be added, that he married the widow of one of his parishioners, Gama-liel Lloyd, who died in 1661, leaving a large family of sons, whose posterity have been eminently successful at Manchester and elsewhere.

return home he preached at James Hardman's, near Heywood-chapel, and at Chadwick-hall.

In November he and Mr. Dawson went to Mr. Sharp's at Little Horton to hold a private fast with Mr. Sale and Mr. Waterhouse "about a special business, and our judgment was desired in an intricate matrimonial case, which seems something dark." Interference on such occasions was not a very unfrequent occurrence in the practice of the Puritan ministry.

On November 26 he notices the deaths of "two eminent servants of God, Mr. Hawksworth, minister formerly at Hunslet, buried there yesterday, and Mr. Smallwood, formerly minister at Batley, buried this day. The former died at Alverthorpe-hall on Saturday afternoon, November 23, the latter at Flanshaw, November 24, on Lord's day in the afternoon; not a quarter of a mile distance, and not a day betwixt their deaths." Dr. Calamy gives an account of both these ministers.

In December he ventured again to Leeds, where he preached in the houses of Joseph Jackson and Mr. Spencer. He preached also in the public chapels of Bramley and Bramhope to large auditories, repeating his sermon at Bramley at the house of Mr. Rawden. On the 20th he preached at the house of Mrs. Smallwood of Flanshaw, and "on the day that they call Christmas day" at Bingley, when he preached again at Marley-hall and visited Mr. Robert Ferrand and his son, Mr. Benjamin Ferrand.

Before closing the account of events of the year 1667, it must be mentioned that in this year was published his treatise entitled 'Heart-Treasure.' It is the substance of three discourses which he had preached at Coley from the words "A good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth good things," expanded into a work of 287 pages; and he inscribes it from his study at Coley-hall, June 14, 1666, "To his very loving and dearly beloved friends and neighbours, the inhabitants of Coley

and the places adjacent*.” It is plain and practical, serious and useful; with nothing extravagant or enthusiastic, but full of excellent instruction for a religious life. The readiness, appositeness, and frequency of his quotations from the Fathers and Commentators is a remarkable feature, when we consider how little time his hurried life afforded him for reading and study. His mind appears also to have been full of the biography of religious persons, both Englishmen and foreigners. But nothing is more observable than the use which he makes of the Divine Poems of Herbert, and the taste which is shown in his selections from them. It was the first and best, and most popular of Mr. Heywood’s printed writings. Bagshaw, in his *De Spiritualibus Pecci*, says of it, that it is “a treasure as well as of a treasure;” and I find it in a list of books recommended to his wife by Gervase Disney, Esq., whose biographical confessions, published in 1692, form a very remarkable picture of the lay Puritan of the severer kind † in the first age after the Act of Uniformity.

* The full title of his work is this:—*Heart-Treasure, or an Essay tending to fill and furnish the head and heart of every Christian with a soul-enriching treasure of truths, graces, experiences, and comforts; to help him in meditation, conference, religious performances, spiritual actions, enduring afflictions, and to fit him for all conditions; that he may live holily, die happily, and go to heaven triumphantly. Being the substance of some sermons preached at Coley in Yorkshire on Matthew xii. 35. By O. H., an unworthy minister of the Blessed Gospel.* The book is now exceedingly rare. I have seen only one copy of it. There are other printed writings of Mr. Heywood of which I could never obtain the sight, and shall owe any account of them which may be given hereafter to the republication of them in 1825, and some following years, by Mr. Vint, who has rendered in more ways than one a good service to the public by his diligence in collecting them, and care in reprinting them. In the library of the British Museum, extensive as it is, but deplorably deficient in early English books, there are, I think, only three or four out of fifteen publications of Mr. Heywood.

† The passage is remarkable, as showing the books which had superseded the writings of Perkins, Bolton, Preston, and Sibbes, as the reading of the Puritans in 1685:—“Be much in reading and studying good books; these I commend to thee especially, viz. the Holy

1668.

This year opens with a remarkable event, being nothing less than the reappearance of Mr. Heywood in his old pulpit in Coley Chapel. "The next Lord's Day, being the first Sabbath in the new year, I preached at Coley Chapel in public. Mr. Hoole having given notice the day before that he would be absent, I took the advantage of the vacancy: we concluded of it but within the evening the night before, and the morning was exceedingly windy, so that few could hear the bell; but in the afternoon there was a very great assembly:—the Lord graciously assisted; it was a good day; and for the effect of it, the will of the Lord be done." On the next Sunday he preached in another public chapel, that of Slaughtwaite on the borders of Yorkshire and Lancashire, "where he had kept many an exercise." He had a difficult and dangerous journey, "being waylaid with snow upon the hills." He lodged as usual, when visiting that wild and rough country, at the house of Robert Binns. When at home at this period he "preached thrice a week, according to his custom." On the 26th he preached at the public chapel at Bramley to "a numerous crowding congregation," though strongly dissuaded from doing so by his friend, Elias Hinchball, because Mr. Hardcastle had been taken at a meeting at

Bible with Pool's Annotations; Swinnoek's One Cast for Eternity; Barret's Christian Temper; Heywood's Heart-Treasure; Rayner's Precepts; Dunton's Heavenly Pastime; Case's God's Waiting to be Gracious; Flavel's Fountain of Life; Bolton's Tost Ship; R. Allen's Rebuke to Backsliders; Janeway's Heaven upon Earth; Swinnoek's Regeneration; Love on Heaven's Glory, &c.; Flavel's Saint Indeed; Steel of Uprightness; Calamy's Godly Man's Ark; Hooker's Doubting Soul; Hardcastle's Christian Geography; Watson on Contentment; Mede's Almost Christian; Doolittle on the Sacrament; his Call to Delaying Sinners; most of Bunyan's Works, very useful if read without prejudice. These books, amongst others, I have had much refreshment from, and heartily commend them to thee."—p. 124. *Habent sua fata libelli!* Verily this worthy esquire's taste is less conspicuous than his piety.

Leeds the Thursday before. The next day he preached at Edward Wildman's at Holbeck, close to the corporate town of Leeds, and was hardly to be persuaded not to enter Leeds itself and preach there. But on his friends telling him that a constable was actually on the watch for him, he desisted and went to Beeston, and so to Morley, where he preached at the house of Abraham Dawson to a large company who were quickly assembled. From thence he passed to Wakefield "to visit Mr. Hardcastle in the House of Correction, sent thither from Leeds for having a conventicle there: on Friday I dined with him in his reproachful prison, and we had much intercourse together."

On the 9th of February he preached at another public chapel, namely, that at Idle in the parish of Calverley, where he had a very numerous congregation. The place was then without a regular minister. He went also to Peniston, where he preached in the church, and "went to visit old Mr. Spawford at Mr. Cotton's house." Mr. Spawford had been many years the minister in the church of Silkston, the mother of the Staincross churches, and even of the church of Mottram in Longdendale, in the tongue of Cheshire land interposing between Yorkshire and Lancashire, but doubtless, from the circumstance just named, in remote times a part of Yorkshire. Mr. Spawford was then eighty, and he died in the course of the year. In this journey Mr. Heywood also preached at Wakefield, visited Lady Hoyle* on his way to Leeds,

* Lady Hoyle was the widow of Alderman Thomas Hoyle of York, whose unhappy end was made the subject of scoffing by the scurrilous writers of the time. It is thus spoken of by John Shaw, the ejected minister of Hull, in the memoirs which he left of his own life:—"On which day, the year following, namely, January 30, 1649-50, and about the same hour of the day that the king suffered, Mr. Thomas Hoyle, alderman of York, and burgess in the Parliament for York, hanged himself in his chamber at Westminster. He was well known to me, and my daughter Emote lived in his family at York. He was generally accounted a very good man; but before his death he grew excessively melancholy, as his lady is at this present. It was commonly reported that he was one of those that

and there he was received by Mr. Hickson, but does not state that he preached. But in March he preached twice at Leeds, where I own I meet with him with less satisfaction than at other places, because other places were scenes of less danger, and did not require his services less than Leeds. On his way to Leeds he met Mrs. Milner, of Pudsey, at Ellis Bury's, where he preached with special reference to her troubled condition. In this journey also he preached at Gildersome.

The anniversary of the day of the ministers' banishment from their homes, March 25, was observed by some of them in the same manner as the greater day of Saint Bartholomew when the provisions of the Act of Uniformity came into force. The fast in this year was kept at Richard Robinson's. In the next event he seems to have yielded a little, though but a little, to the opposition made to him. "On Lord's Day, March 29, I spent the Sabbath at James Brooksbank's, being persuaded to it because of a proclamation the day before at Halifax against conventicles; but at four o'clock at night I preached at home, and had a full auditory." It is clear that he had been uneasy in mind while at the house of his more cautious friend.

Religious conferences were amongst the exercises of the Puritans of these times. Mr. Heywood was present

passed sentence of death against the king in the High Court the year before; but it was a clear mistake or slander, for he was then neither in the court nor near the city at the time."—*Memoirs of the Life of John Shaw, some time vicar of Rotherham*, printed as a private work by John Broadley, Esq., from the manuscript copy in the Museum, 12mo, Hull, 1824, p. 63. In *The Antiquities of York City*, 8vo, 1719, it is said that "he was found dead by his lady, she having been abroad that morning," p. 111. When Mr. Heywood visited her she was living at the house of Mr. George Foster at Thwaites, near Leeds, who managed her affairs, she being "under sore affliction of spirit by desertion and melancholy several years." He preached and prayed in her chamber. Mr. Heywood visited her again in July, in which month she died, and was buried at Sandal on the 24th. Mr. Heywood says that before her death she gave them a sign by lifting up her hands that God was returned.

at one which was held at Denton-hall, then the residence of Mrs. Arderne. Mr. Martindale was there, and both he and Mr. Heywood spoke extemporarily on the redeeming of time.

On the 8th of April he kept a private fast at Manchester with Mr. Newcome, and Mr. Goodwin who had been ejected at Bolton, of whom Calamy says, that after his ejection he lived at Manchester, where he studied chemistry and was a great proficient. "God wonderfully helped: I hear since it was the day appointed for the Parliament debating the business of Non-Conformists' liberty, and it is a token for good." He went to Oldham to visit the family of Mr. Hopwood under great affliction; preached at his cousin Judith Heaward's house at Hollinwood, and at the public chapel in Ainsworth, where he had a large congregation and no interruption, though the high sheriff, Mr. Greenhalgh of Brandlestone, and his father-in-law, Dr. Bridgeman, dean of Chester, were within two miles. He preached again at the chapel on the succeeding Sunday, and in the evening at James Pilkington's. He preached also at the house of James Hardman, at Broadfield, near Heywood Chapel.

In May he visited Rawden, and preached to a considerable number. "Though the old gentleman be dead, yet we are sweetly entertained: he died April 25; was near eighty-six years of age." He then went to Bramhope and Arthington. At the latter place he visited an afflicted gentlewoman, Mrs. Arthington, "who is my Lord Fairfax's sister." Preaching the next night at William Thomson's, near Kirkstall Abbey, Mr. Foxcroft, a justice of the peace and alderman of Leeds, interrupted them. Mr. Heywood was conveyed out by a back way, and it does not appear that any of the persons present were fined. Notwithstanding he went into Leeds, preached, and walked about the streets as if it were not a prohibited place; visited Mr. Hardcastle, then in prison there; and this though, on May 31, Mr. Hancock, for preach-

ing at Alverthorpe, was committed to the castle of York by Mr. Copley of Batley. On the same day, Mr. Heywood was preaching in his own house to a large auditory.

In July he was at Knaresborough with Mr. Nathaniel Heywood, when he visited Mr. William Kitchen at Ripon, who had lately married a daughter of Captain Hodgson. He visited also Mr. Cholmley of Braham, a gentleman of fortune and ancient family. He went again to Leeds, where he preached at the dedication of a new house, built by R. H. (Robert Hickson.)

In August he visited Mr. Dyneley at Flanshaw-hall, son to Mr. Dyneley of Bramhope; was at Wakefield and Leeds, and extended his journey to York, another prohibited place. He found Mr. Rider there, and preached frequently. On the 30th he preached all day at the chapel at Idle.

In September he visited his friends in Lancashire, preached at Gorton Chapel and elsewhere; went on to Chester, another prohibited place, where he preached at his cousin Bullen's and Mr. Greg's; went to Tarvin, and preached there at his cousin Nathaniel Greg's, and to Warrington, where he preached at Mr. Samuel Liedger's. He preached at Shaw Chapel on his return.

"November 3, having been two Lord's Days at home, I went to Houghton to my Lady Rodes', where we had a solemn fast on Wednesday; Mr. Clayton, of Rotherham, and I preached and prayed, and Mr. Kirby closed the work with prayer. The day after, being the 5th of November, my lady prevailed with us to stay and spend some time in thankfulness. Mr. Grant began, and I preached and prayed, and Mr. Kirby concluded*."

November 11, there was a conference at Mr. Heywood's, the subject being Original sin.

In this year he published his second work, entitled 'Closet-Prayer a Christian Duty.' It is a long and excellent discourse on Matthew vi. 6.

* Lady Rodes was the widow of Sir Edward Rodes, who died February 19, 1666, and daughter of Sir Hammond Whichcote.

1669.

“ This day, being January 29, we have been interring the corpses of old Mr. Hill and his wife. He was aged eighty years within a few weeks ; she near as old. They had lived many years together. He died on Wednesday, betwixt eleven and twelve o'clock. She died at three o'clock the same day. Seven Non-Conformist ministers laid him in the grave.” This was Mr. Edward Hill, formerly of Christ's College, Cambridge, who had been ejected at Crofton, near Wakefield. On the Five Mile Act he settled himself at Shibden, near Mr. Heywood's residence.

March 28, he preached at Hunslet Chapel to a very large congregation.

In April, being in Lancashire, he preached the funeral sermons of Mr. Park, and of his uncle Francis Critchlaw, at Bradshaw Chapel.

He notices the death of Mr. Elkana Wales, who died at Mr. Hickson's at Leeds on May 11 ; the fourth death in the Yorkshire Non-Conforming ministers of Mr. Heywood's neighbourhood.

January 26, he preached at Morley in the chapel, and when he was in the pulpit, while a psalm was singing, Mr. Broadhead, vicar of Batley, Morley being a member of that parish, “ comes up, tossing among the crowd up the alley, and got with much ado to the clerk ; bade him tell Mr. Heywood to come down and let him have his own pulpit, and then hasted away to Batley ; told Justice Copley what a multitude of people there were at Morley hearing a Non-Conformist : he took no notice of it ; bade let us alone ; and so through God's mercy we enjoyed the day quietly.” He visited Mr. Marshal, the minister, and lodged at Hague-hall.

July 4, he preached again at his old chapel of Coley ; and again on September 19, Mr. Hoole being absent.

July 7, the shock of an earthquake was distinctly felt. It was felt also at Bradford, Idle, and as far as Ripon*.

* It was observed also in Lancashire and about London.

He visited Alderman Hewet and his wife at Wakefield, and Timothy Smith at Leeds, where he met Mr. Illingworth, another Non-Conformist divine. He kept a fast in company with Mr. Nesse, a minister of Congregational sentiments, at Leeds.

August, preached again at Lady Rodes'; lodged at John Scurr's at Hague-hall.

October 28, another Yorkshire Non-Conforming minister was buried, the elder Mr. Root, who was interred at Sowerby with much solemnity*.

November, he is preaching at Leeds and in the neighbourhood. At Leeds his friends who entertain him are J. Cummins, Mr. Spencer, and Mr. Paul Thoresby, an

* The account of this Mr. Root, given by Dr. Calamy, being defective in many points, I shall take the present opportunity of making some additions. He was born about 1590, educated in Magdalene College, Oxford, and travelled much abroad in his younger days. Dr. Calamy then skips over the events of his life till the year 1645, when he was pastor of an Independent church at Sowerby, where he was living when the Act of Uniformity was passed in 1662. But it appears by Mr. Heywood's *Life of Angier*, that in 1632 there was a design of placing him in the chapel of Denton, which was favoured by the two Hydes of Norbury and Denton, but opposed by another considerable person there, Mr. Holland of Denton. This was when Mr. Broxholme was silenced, and Mr. Angier was chosen. He obtained, however, a settlement in the same parish of Manchester, becoming minister of the chapel at Gorton; and we find him in 1634 baptizing the daughter of Mr. Angier, who became the wife of Mr. Heywood, and joining with Mr. Horrocks in preaching sermons on the day of Mr. Angier's second marriage to Mrs. Margaret Moseley in 1643. In that year he was placed in the church of Halifax, and in or about 1646 he retired from Halifax and settled at Sowerby. In 1646 he engaged in the Lancashire controversy between the Presbyterians and Independents, the title of his tract being *A just apology for the Church of Duckenfield*. After the Uniformity Act, Mr. Root continued among his people at Sowerby, but he was harshly treated, being sent to the castle at York for very trifling infringement of the law in respect of ecclesiastical affairs. His son, Timothy Root, was also an ejected minister, being settled at Sowerby-bridge Chapel when the Act took place. He continued a Non-Conformist for many years, partaking largely of the hardships of the time; but at length, as late as 1685, he conformed, and had the rectory of Howden. But he lived not long, dying at Beverley in 1687.

alderman, great-uncle to Ralph Thoresby, the antiquary of Leeds.

1670.

January, preaching at Honley; and at Hulme, at the house of Mr. Earnshaw.

At length the magistracy interfere:—"Upon Saturday, March 12, I went to Bramhope; preached there upon the Lord's day. Monday night went to George 's house at Little Woodhouse; there preached; and before I had done was apprehended by constables; carried to the mayor*, who put me to the common prison, called Capon-hall or Cappon-call †; by the mediation of friends was released on Tuesday, this March 15, the same day forty years after I was baptized." Mr. Heywood designed to write a fuller account of this affair, but I have not seen it ‡. When at liberty he began again to preach even in the same parish of Leeds. "I preached on Wednesday night at Joseph Wood's, near Bramley; came home on Thursday. Blessed be God for this journey."—"On Friday, March 25, we had a private day at Mr. Dawson's." On the 27th he preached in public all day at Idle, where he was entertained at Thomas Ledger's. He also went to Horsford, where he preached at the house of John Clarkson.

New names of friends now appear:—"Went on Monday to visit Mr. Thorpe; Josiah Oates, not being well; William Heaward at Wakefield, after the death of his good wife; went back to Flanshaw, where I had ap-

* The mayor of Leeds, then Godfrey Lawson, Esq.

† The name of the prison is written plainly in Mr. Heywood's MS., but it does not occur in Thoresby's Survey of the town.

‡ In the account of Mr. Heywood in Dr. Calamy's work, communicated probably by Mr. Heywood himself, it is said "the mayor treated him like a fury. He asked whether he had not been once in their hands already. Mr. Heywood answered with some address, that he was never in prison, but once for the king in Sir George Booth's rising.

pointed to meet old Mr. Dyneley at his son's; lodged there: on Tuesday, after dinner, went to Healy, where I preached at widow Heaton's to a considerable number."

In May he preached at the chapel at Coley. In the midst of the sermon in the afternoon Stephen Ellis came in with the churchwardens and took down the names of divers persons whom they found there, Mr. Heywood still continuing the service.

In June he visited Mr. Dyneley at Bramhope, Arthington, Rawden, where now lived Mr. Coates, the ejected minister, whom he had before visited at his house at Wath, near Rotherham*, but who had now become resident on his own lands at Rawden, where he was born.

July 3, he preached all day in the church of Peniston. On Monday he dined with Mr. Nailor at Ecclands, and lodged at Mr. Riche's of Bull-house †.

July 10, he preached three times at home, and next morning he found himself again under the animadversion of the magistracy. "The churchwardens and overseer came to this house; told Captain Hodgson they had a warrant on Sabbath-day night from two justices, Mr. White ‡ and Mr. Copley §, to make distress upon my goods for ten pounds; and because of my poverty to lay it upon other two men, Richard Kershaw and William Pollard of Wyke, five pounds a-piece, for being at that

* See Calamy, *Account*, p. 530, for this Mr. Samuel Coates, who was ejected at West Bridgeford in Nottinghamshire. His daughter married one of the Bagshaws in Derbyshire.

† Sylvanus Riche, the son of Captain William Riche, who had a commission under Fairfax. He had married one of the family of Wordsworth of Waterhall. The family became extinct in 1769 by the death of his grandson, Aymer Riche, Esq. They founded the dissenting chapel at Bull-house.

‡ Francis Whyte, Esq., the recorder of Leeds and Pontefract, grandson of Dr. Francis Whyte, bishop of Ely.

§ Edward Copley of Batley, whose name has occurred before. He was grandson of John Lord Savile of Howley.

conventicle at Coley Chapel when I preached there. These officers wanted Mr. Hodgson's assistance, being an overseer. On Tuesday morning they came and showed me the warrant; demanded ten pounds; told me it was best to pay, since money cannot be undervalued, but goods may. Upon my refusal they came on Wednesday morning, that is, James Mitchel of Crow- nest, constable, Thomas Hanson of Mitham, church- warden, Samuel Wadington of Norwood-green, overseer, and brought three men with them to take down and help to hurry out my goods. They swept all away; three good chests, three tables, chairs, stools, my bed, bed- ding, curtains—all my goods, except a cupboard and some chairs, are gone. They carried them to John Appleyard's at Shut; appointed R. Langley and Nich. Empsal to prize them; they rated them, together with ten books, to ten pounds and a noble; cheap penni- worths! All this was on Wednesday, July 13, 1670. Blessed be God! In the afternoon I preached on the text, Heb. x. 34*. On Friday I preached again on the same text, and on Saturday went into Lancashire†."

This distraint was made under the new Act against Conventicles, 22 Charles II. ch. 1, which came into force on May 10, 1670.

July 23. "I went to Pool; preached in a chapel there on Lord's Day peaceably: blessed be God that a new unheard-of door is open for God's people." August 6, he preached at Shadwell in the midst of dangers and alarms; went to Leeds, where this time he was not invited to preach. August 21, he preached again at Pool, and afterwards visited Mr. Dyneley. The 24th was observed as a fast in his own house.

"August 28, the younger Mr. Root preached at Shad-

* "Ye had compassion of me in my bonds, and took joyfully the spoiling of your goods, knowing in yourselves that ye have in heaven a better and an enduring substance."

† See more of the details of this seizure in Mr. Slate's 'Life of Mr. Heywood.'—*Whole Works*, i. 147—150.

well, when Lord Savile*, Mr. Copley, Mr. Hammond, and forty of Lord Freschvile's troopers from York came, took Mr. Root, carried him to York, and put him in the castle; took four hundred or five hundred names of people, seized on their horses, made them pay five shillings a-piece before they had them. I was earnestly desired to have been there that day. He was kept close prisoner; put into the low gaol among twelve thieves; had double irons laid on him for four days and nights; but on Captain Hodgson's importunity with Mr. Copley was released." On October 4 Mr. Heywood went to Slaughthwaite to help Mr. Root in a day of thanksgiving for his deliverance out of prison, "and God was seen on that day." Captain Hodgson accompanied him.

I am unwilling to omit what I find in the diary under December 15:—"I was wanted at home, for Richard Langley's eldest son John was fallen suddenly sick. I went to visit him on Thursday in the afternoon, but he was not sensible. I saw he was gone: he died on Tuesday evening, December 15. The night before he died, I being with him, there was a candle standing on the cupboard, a great one, none near it, which I observed did swaile up in a blue blaze several times, and then went out of itself; and though I think none but myself observed the manner of its expiring, yet all smelt the snuff. I thought it strange, and looked upon it as an emblem and presage of death." I leave it without comment, as a singular accident resting on credible evidence, and the more singular as being coincident in time with so important a family event.

In this year he found time in the midst of his labours to prepare a second part of his 'Heart's Treasure.' This he entitles 'The Sure Mercies of David,' it being in fact a sermon, much enlarged, we may believe, on the text, Isaiah lv. 3.

* It is not clear which member of the family of Savile is intended by Mr. Heywood; nor does it appear that there was at that period, 1670, any one who would be properly described as "Lord Savile."

1671.

Early in this year we find Mr. Heywood in a part of Lancashire which he does not appear to have visited before. It was Mr. Jollie's district, the parts about Clitheroe, his house being situated on the north side of Pendle-hill. It was an exchange; Mr. Jollie came to Coley, and Mr. Heywood went to his people. On March 12, he had appointed to preach at Woodhead-chapel, in one of the passes of the mountains which separate Lancashire and Yorkshire; but it was a terrible storm of snow, making the moors impassable, so he remained at Hulme, and preached at Mr. Earnshaw's. On Monday night he preached again at Mr. Earnshaw's, and the same night, after nine o'clock, he rode three miles and preached again at Godfrey Armitage's at Lidget, in Kirk-Burton parish. In the same month he preached at Heckmondwike.

In April we find him buying land. None of Mr. Heywood's accounts of receipt and expenditure have been preserved; but it is evident that he cannot have lived all these years, conducting these frequent religious services, without gratuities from those who benefited by them. It is true, not many great, not many noble, were called; but he cannot have visited such families as the Fairfaxes, Arthingtons, Dyneleys, Rawdens, Rodes', or the Sotwells, Cottons, Wordsworths and Riches, without receiving from them gratuities which would bear some proportion not only to their estimate of the value of his very acceptable services, but also to their sense of the sacrifices which he had made in what they deemed a just and holy cause. His other friends were, for the most part, the lesser gentry, or the better kind of yeomanry,—men whose names are not perhaps in the heralds' books, but men of substantial property, and whose sober and religious habits of life gave them the better power of being liberal and generous with their less affluent means. However, certain it is, that in the year of which we are

speaking, he added to his estate at Little Lever by a purchase of land adjoining to it. "I must confess 'tis strange I should buy land in such a day as this; but my case is almost like the prophet's, I was necessitated to buy it, and that God that cast it unsought-for on me can tell how to see it is discharged, though I had never so much money together in all my life. Jeremiah xxxii. 7, 8—12."

It now appears that Mr. Heywood's goods which had been taken under the distress had found no purchasers near his residence. They remained in a neighbouring barn; from whence, on June 6, they were taken away by Robert Reiner, a bailiff of Wakefield.

On June 13, he preached again at John Armitage's at the Lidget to a great number.

On June 16, he had a private day at Captain Hodgson's, on his son, Timothy Hodgson, going to be chaplain to Sir John Hewley at York. We shall hear of him again. He spent the greater part of his life in the family of Sir John and Lady Hewley*.

August, he went to York in the assize-week; preached twice at Lady Watson's on the Sunday, and heard a sermon twice in public. He frequently attended the services in the churches. He was at York five days, and preached frequently. He went to Mr. Hutton's at Poppleton† for a night. On his return visited Mr. Haw-

* I need scarcely apprise the reader that this is the lady whose benefactions to the Non-Conforming ministry have been of late years the subject of so much litigation.

† This family was closely connected with the heads of the Presbyterian party in Yorkshire. Richard Hutton of Poppleton, grandson of Archbishop Matthew Hutton, married one of the daughters of Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, and died in 1648; but the widow lived till 1687. His sister was the wife of Edward Bowles, the Presbyterian minister at York, who did so much to facilitate the admission into that city of Monk and his army, in their march upon London, in 1660. One of the sons married a daughter of Sir Edward Rodes of Great Houghton; another, who settled at Pudsey, married one of the daughters of James Sale, the ejected minister; and his son married a daughter of Richard Thorpe, another of the ejected minis-

den at Sherburn, and Captain Drake at Pontefract, where he preached on the Sunday in a malt-house. The 24th of August he kept as a fast, "black Bartholomew Day." It was a private fast, none but the family being present. Each prayed in turn, he, the wife, the two sons and the maid, beginning with the youngest.

Nov. 11, Saturday. "I and my wife went to Hague-hall, where I preached on Lord's Day; had a considerable auditory. On Monday we went to Wakefield; called at Alverthorpe; lodged with Mr. Jonas Dickson. On Tuesday I visited friends in Wakefield; went to Flanshaw, dined with Mr. Bodley and several friends; lodged there with Mr. Dyneley; called on Wednesday at Chickenley, at Mr. Josiah Oates' house*, and home that night."

1672.

At the beginning of this year he was again preaching at Joshua Walker's, near Bingley. He went to Arthington "to visit that good gentlewoman," Mrs. Arthington, then a widow; kept a solemn day at Bramhope, where Mr. Root and he preached, and old Mr. Holdsworth "administered the Supper;" went to Leeds, preached at John Cummins'; preached at the chapel at Bramley on the first Sunday in the new year.

"On Lord's Day, January 14, I preached at home; there was a great assembly, because none were at chapel.

ters, both of whom are frequently mentioned in these pages. They were great benefactors to the chapel at Hopton. Mr. Holdsworth was ejected at Poppleton by the Act.

* Chickenley is a hamlet in the parish of Dewsbury. This is the second time that we have found Mr. Heywood visiting at Mr. Oates', who was then a young man, having been born in 1643. The intimacy thus begun continued through the remainder of Mr. Heywood's life. Mr. Oates sent one of his sons to Leeds, where he was a successful merchant, and died in 1729, "a great loss to his large family and to Mill-hill congregation," says a contemporary minister who knew him. Many of his posterity have resided at Leeds, and been supporters and ornaments of the Dissenting interest in that town.

About one o'clock tidings came that Stephen Ellis had got a warrant and was resolved to come to break us up, which occasioned me to break off and dismiss them; the rest of the day Captain Hodgson and I spent in prayer."

January 23. "I went to Heckmondwike, where I preached at Abraham Naylour's; had a large assembly."

February 6. "I went to the burial of Mrs. Horton*; and on February 12 to the funeral of Richard Hoyle's fourth son, who had been all strangely taken with strange diseases; pined away; they have suspected some witchcraft†; O that they saw the Lord's hand!"

February 25. "I helped at a private fast at William Cordingley's with old Mr. Holdsworth and his son‡."

* This lady was the owner of Coley-hall, where Mr. Heywood lived; "a gentlewoman of 1000*l.* a-year; lived sparingly, and usually had but ordinary clothes. Many things considerable about her. Several of the servants were affrighted with a great knocking and variety of music the night before she died. We had a very great solemnity [at the funeral], multitudes of people. Dr. Hooke preached a fine flourishing flaunting sermon. I pray God it may do good. These scriptures were fresh in my thoughts, Psalm cxlix. 6, *ad fin.* Prov. xvi. 4."

† The notices in Mr. Heywood's papers of this kind of delusion are not unfrequent. He relates of one Joseph Hinchliffe and his wife, that they were accused of this crime of witchcraft, and bound over to appear at the Assizes to answer the charge, but could not bear it, for on Thursday morning, February 4, 1675, he hanged himself in a wood near his house, and was not found till the Sunday. In the mean time the wife died, praying for those that had falsely accused her. We may admire the vigour of devotional and pious sentiment, and respect a devoted reverence for every thing that appears to be countenanced by the language of the Scriptures, but we cannot but perceive how needful it is that these feelings should be chastised by a cool judgement and common sense.

‡ Both the Holdsworths, who were ejected in Yorkshire, are noticed by Dr. Calamy, but he does not say that they were father and son. They were both named Josiah. The elder was born at Ripponden, in Halifax parish, was ejected at Poppleton, and died at Wakefield October 18, 1677, aged 75. The younger was ejected at Sutton, in the East Riding, became chaplain to Sir Richard Hoghton, but returned to Yorkshire, and in 1672 set up a meeting at Heckmondwike. He died in 1685, aged 50.

Many journeys he went of which I have taken no notice, as they were to visit parties who have been already mentioned as having opened their doors to him, and listened to his instructive, awakening and often eloquent discourses, and joined with him in those devotional exercises which must have been striking and affecting, as they could suspend in attention those who heard him for two or three hours without intermission. But I fear that I may have descended to too great minuteness of detail, and wearied the patience of many of my readers by this attempt to preserve and make known the names of those who were founders of Protestant Non-Conformity, or, what is the same thing, Protestant Dissent, in the parts of the kingdom to which the labours of Mr. Heywood were principally applied. But, having mentioned them once or twice, there will be the less necessity for introducing such details in the further progress of this work.

In a tabular synopsis which Mr. Heywood drew up of his ministerial labours, we find that in the seven years from 1666 to 1672 he preached 436 week-day sermons, kept 151 fasts, and thirty-eight days of thanksgiving; and travelled 5028 miles. Add to this his Sunday duties. When at home his time was passed in religious meditation, and in devotional exercises which were often as intense as those of which we read in the lives of the most holy of the hermits, or the most seraphic of the friars.

CHAPTER XI.

1672.

SUDDEN CHANGE IN THE POLICY OF THE COUNTRY RESPECTING THE NON-CONFORMISTS.—THE KING'S DECLARATION FOR INDULGENCE.—DIFFICULTIES IN ACCEPTING THE LIBERTY.—MODE OF PROCEDURE.—ADDRESS FROM THE LANCASHIRE MINISTERS.—DECLARATION OF A PORTION OF THE YORKSHIRE MINISTERS.—FORM OF APPLICATION FOR LICENSES.—MR. HEYWOOD'S LICENSE.—HIS REMOVAL TO HIS OWN HOUSE AT NORTHOWRAM.—FITS UP THE LARGEST ROOM AS A PLACE FOR WORSHIP.—FORMS HIS CONGREGATION IN CHURCH ORDER.—MUTUAL PLEDGE AND DECLARATION.—UNION WITH HIM OF MANY INDEPENDENTS.—FOUNDATION OF THE CONGREGATION AT WARLEY.—HIS TRAVELS DURING THIS SUMMER, AND THE RISE OF LICENSED MEETING-HOUSES IN VARIOUS PLACES.—FOUNDATION OF AN ACADEMY FOR THE EDUCATION OF NON-CONFORMING MINISTERS.—REVIVAL OF PRESBYTERIAN ORDINATION.

THE year 1672 is a very memorable one in the history of Protestant Non-Conformity.

Early in the year a great and sudden change took place in the policy of the country. It was determined by the king's advisers that he should dispense with the penal laws against the Non-Conformists, and that the ministers should be allowed, on certain easy conditions, to conduct religious services in such manner and places as to them should seem meet. This was to be done by virtue of the king's prerogative, as supreme in ecclesiastical affairs, it being well known that Parliament would not have given its sanction to the measure, so great was the dread of an intention on the part of the king to introduce Popery, and so strong the persuasion of the importance of maintaining the Protestant Church

of England in its full strength, as the great defence against such a design.

The change was therefore announced by a Declaration issued on the king's sole authority. The Declaration was to the effect that "there was very little fruit of all those forcible courses and many frequent ways of coercion that had been used for reducing all erring and dissenting persons; wherefore, by virtue of his supreme power in matters ecclesiastical, he suspends all penal laws about them, and offers to allow a convenient number of public meeting-places to men of all sorts that did not conform, provided they took out licenses, set open the doors to all comers, and preached not seditiously nor against the discipline or government of the Church of England." This Declaration was published on the 15th of March.

It came upon persons in whose favour it was issued quite unexpectedly, and they at first scarcely knew how to receive it. No one could take the benefit of it without acknowledging the king's dispensing power—a hazardous admission, and very incongruous with the part which they had taken in the preceding times. It cannot, indeed, be denied that the acceptance of the boon was in effect to admit the king's power to dispense with the operation of Acts of Parliament in which the national will was embodied, when they concerned in any way ecclesiastical affairs. This was a very dangerous admission, since, though used now in their favour, it might hereafter be used for the purpose of bringing back Popery, to which the king was, on some good grounds, suspected to incline, as well as his brother. This disturbed the minds of some of the ministers of both denominations: but the Presbyterians were alarmed at the thought that it gave too much encouragement to the sectaries, and would thus tend to the injury of the church. Others of them feared the introduction by its means of heresies; and all seem to have seen that its effect would be to place them

in the same position with the sectaries ; to force them, in fact, into that position, and so to reduce very greatly their chance of comprehension.

The Independents could have nothing to object against it, except the point of prerogative and the possible facilities which it might make for the introduction of Popery ; and they went up first with an address, acknowledging the king's goodness and declaring their acceptance of the favour. But the Presbyterians in London were not long after them. Both were very graciously received. Dr. Calamy says that the addresses were very cautiously worded. All was done within a fortnight of the appearance of the Declaration.

The intelligence was soon conveyed into the country. On Monday, the 18th of March, Mr. Heywood was keeping a private fast at the house of John Smith in the parish of Bradford. He says that on that occasion he "prayed with more enlargedness than usual for the church, and for poor ministers, that their mouths might be opened ; when lo ! an answer ; for on the next morning two messengers came to my house, one from Halifax, the other from Leeds, bringing the welcome intelligence." The texts, Ezra vii. 27, and Isaiah lxxv. 24, came into his mind.

I do not find in Mr. Heywood's papers much on this subject, except acknowledgment of the divine favour in having removed the impediments to the exercise of his ministry. Of the political considerations connected with the measure, he thought, it is probable, very little. His desire and design was to do God service in the zealous prosecution of his duties as a minister, and he thought of little else. Yet, even he was not fully satisfied ; and he writes thus :—"There is cause of grief that Papists and Atheists enjoy so much liberty ; but we have opportunity of resistance ; we have liberty to do good, as they have to do hurt."

The intelligence reached Manchester on the 18th.

One of the first thoughts which arose in the mind of Mr. Newcome was, the difficulty of reconciling the enjoyment of the new liberty proposed to them with the principle of adherence to a National Church. "Some of us," says he, "desirous to enjoy the benefit of it, and yet to retain our principles of anti-separation or any appearance of it, did agree to write a letter to Alderman Ashurst, to wait upon the bishop and to desire his advice and assistance in it, especially for the obtaining liberty for void chapels and churches where the incumbents could give leave." This letter was written on the 30th of March, and was signed by Mr. Holbrook, Mr. Richardson, Mr. Lever, Mr. Scoles, Mr. Risley, Mr. Finch, Mr. Bell, Mr. Angier, Mr. Newcome, Mr. Constantine, Mr. Eaton and Mr. Jones, all Non-Conforming ministers residing at Manchester and in its immediate vicinity. A reply was received from a minister in London, probably Mr. Stretton, which opens a view of the method in which the court meant to proceed in granting the licenses:—"This day I was with Sir Joseph Williamson, through whose hands this business passes under Lord Arlington, who readily granted me a license to preach in any licensed place, and another for the place I nominated, both to be ready immediately." The writer then mentioned the names of other ministers for whom he desired licenses, but he was informed that government expected application should be made from persons in the country by themselves, with an acknowledgment of the favour of His Majesty towards them in granting this indulgence, and that they meant to use it with moderation and peaceableness. In respect to the application that they might be allowed to preach in public churches or chapels, that was absolutely refused. A minister might name his own house, or any other convenient place. It was also required that the minister's opinion be punctually stated, whether he was of the *Presbyterian*, *Independent*, or *Anabaptist* persuasion, or denomination

as it was afterwards called*. At this interview Sir Joseph Williamson urged the propriety of an application being made in all cases in the form of an address or petition, and he said that the court expected applications to be made without delay. The reason of this is apparent. Written pledges were thus obtained from the heads of the Presbyterian body at once of their approval of the dispensing power, and their willingness to step down from their high position as men bent on effecting a change in the constitution of the National Church, to become mere separatists, each officiating in his own place licensed for the purpose by public authority, and to his own little community of followers.

A minister who took a license for his house at the Hermitage in Cheshire, wrote thus, on the 9th of April:—"I would willingly have my own house licensed, since it may be no prejudice to my liberty elsewhere. I am very much afraid that in the general this course will run us into absolute Independency and separation; and that in the public places, where the usual hours are taken (as they will generally be throughout England), the present church's harvest will be thin of ears; and where these hours are not taken, excepting amongst a very few sober people, nothing will be done."

Philip Henry took nearly the same view:—"The danger is, lest the allowing of separate places help to overthrow our parish-order, which God hath owned, and to beget divisions and animosities amongst us, which no honest heart but would rather should be healed. We are put hereby into a trilemma; either to turn Independents in practice, or to strike in with the Conformists, or to sit down in former silence and suffering, till the Lord shall open a more effectual door."

Adam Martindale, a very sensible man, but in this point

* Baxter, who was never without his doubt and scruple, refused to accept of a license in which any of these words were contained. He would be styled only a Non-Conformist.

extremely bigoted, expresses his judgement thus:—" I confess I was not satisfied whether the king could, by his prerogative, suspend the execution of all ecclesiastical laws ; but this was above my skill. And I did so little like a universal toleration, that I have oft said and once writ in answer to a book which Mr. Baxter after more largely answered in print, that if the king had offered me my liberty upon condition that I would consent that Papists, Quakers and all other wicked sects should have theirs also, I think I should never have agreed to it. But seeing the king's license did but help to clear my way to do that which I would have done without it if I could have been suffered, being, as I believed, illegally rent from my people by the patron and bishop, and that the Papists and all others must have their liberty whether I would or no, I resolved to take mine, that I might help to countervail them."

But, notwithstanding these difficulties, the general feeling throughout the Non-Conforming body was, that the Indulgence ought to be accepted ; and addresses and applications flowed in from all parts of the kingdom, and were graciously received. It cannot however be doubted that the Presbyterians at this time made a great sacrifice of principle, and allowed themselves to be forced into the position which the Independents had occupied on principle and from choice. And hence it is that Bishop Stillingfleet represents the acceptance of the Indulgence offered at this time as the true beginning of English Protestant Dissent.

On the 19th of April, Mr. Heywood, who, though he had been long settled in Yorkshire, ever considered himself as nearly connected with the ministers of his native county, was at Manchester, where he spent the forenoon in prayer with Mr. Newcome and Mr. Finch ; and in the afternoon there was a meeting of eighteen ministers, " to consult about our use of the king's Declaration ; there was a great harmony."

The following address was agreed upon:—

“ To the King’s Most Excellent Majesty,
 “ The most humble and dutiful acknowledgment of the
 Non-Conforming Ministers in the County of Lancaster ;
 “ May it please Your Most Excellent Majesty,
 “ We, your most loyal and faithful subjects, being
 deeply sensible of your princely clemency and favourable
 inclination towards us manifested in your most gracious
 Declaration of Indulgence, dated March 15, 1671–2,
 make this our most humble and grateful acknowledg-
 ment thereof, sincerely promising our constant and cordial
 endeavours, to the utmost of our capacity, to promote
 Your Majesty’s honour, interest and authority, as also
 our peaceable and inoffensive deportment in the exercise
 of the liberty so freely vouchsafed to us ; whereby as
 (by God’s assistance) we shall evidence that our Non-
 Conformity was not out of any disaffection or disloyalty
 to Your Majesty’s person or government, so we shall
 give Your Majesty such cause to be confident of our
 loyalty as we hope may encourage you to continue your
 royal favour, and to confirm your gracious indulgence
 and clemency towards us.”

This address was signed by thirty-eight Presbyterian ministers, and six Independents. Among the former are Mr. Angier, Mr. Newcome, Mr. Nathaniel Heywood and Mr. Samuel Angier ; and amongst the latter Mr. Briscoe and Mr. Jollie.

Of what was done by the Yorkshire ministers I find no account, except that in May there was a meeting of a portion of them at York, at which, after much debate, the following declaration was agreed upon. (Mr. Heywood was not present) :—

“ We, knowing that union and communion is the ground and strength of all lasting society, sacred and civil, and seriously considering the great evils that

have come and may befall a church and kingdom by heresy and schism on the one hand, and sedition and rebellion on the other (these breaking the bonds of loyalty and well-grounded peace, the other of truth and charity), have resolved, that, as we do with all thankfulness accept His Majesty's Indulgence to us of liberty to exercise our ministry, which is far more dear to us than all worldly concerns; so in making use of it we will endeavour it may be done without the least tendency to division or any breach of loyalty or obedience to His Majesty's person and government, or unnecessary separation and breach of the knot of union, peace and charity with that part of the visible church whereof we profess ourselves members. In order to which end we have consented and do agree, First: That by making use of His Majesty's Indulgence and receiving licenses to preach, it is not our intention to set up any distinct or separate churches in opposition to those already established, but, as members of one and the same church and preachers of the same doctrine therein declared, to be, what in us lies, helpful to the established ministers in carrying on the same general ends of piety, loyalty and charity, by instructing their people in matters of religion and duty to God and the king.

“ Second: That in the course of preaching in our licensed places, we will not take up the canonical hours in any city, town corporate, parish or chapelry where there is an established minister or ministers that will do their work, but shall preach in other convenient hours before or after (on Lord's Days, holy days and other seasonable times), as shall be least prejudicial to the more public and authorised devotions, which we also do intend to frequent, and to persuade the people we are acquainted with to a constant attendance upon.

“ Third: We declare that it is our desire (and accordingly we will endeavour) to persuade those people that shall come to hear us, or any of us, that they pay all their covenanted and accustomed dues and duties to their parish ministers, and that they withdraw not any part

of them (or of their wonted respects) from them upon our account, but that they express their duty therein more cheerfully to God and the ministers by how much more helpful opportunities they have and do enjoy.

“ Fourth : That we judge it our duty, in the exercise of our ministry, so to preach as to insist on those points that we conceive most tend to charity and holiness, and to follow after those things that make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another ; and, therefore,

“ Fifth : That we will studiously avoid all needless controversies, exhorting the people to labour after unity between our brethren and us and among themselves, by their prayers to the God of peace and by their amicable and even behaviour to all ; that it may not be said, ‘ I am of Paul, I am of Apollos, I am of Cephas ;’ but, whoever planteth and watereth, that they themselves may labour to be God’s husbandry and may bless that God who giveth them increase.

“ Sixth : That it may appear we desire union and peace with all, and to be helpful to our power to the work of the Lord, wherever we may, we will not refuse to preach in the congregational meeting-places or assemblies when requested or desired, provided they do not therein carry on such designs as tend to the manifest breach of the bonds of peace and unity by endeavouring to gather separate churches.

“ Seventh : That we will be assistant in what we can to the legally settled ministers and others who own themselves Protestants of the Church of England, by discourse or dispute, in defence of truth, against the common enemies to the doctrines of the Catholic Church ; and also,

“ Eighth : That if His Majesty (our gracious Sovereign), upon ours or any others’ petition, shall, in his great wisdom, see it fit, and be satisfied that it may yet tend to further happy advantages to church and kingdom, that our liberty be enlarged to preach in churches and chapels, we do resolve to give what assistance we can to our brethren of the conformable clergy, in carrying on the great work and ends of their ministry, at such con-

venient times as they shall desire, and shall chearfully also preach in such places as are not otherwise supplied, when we shall be licensed thereunto.”

The ministers of Derbyshire also met, and agreed together that they would not preach at the time when the public churches were open,—more striking evidence of their unwillingness to separate cannot be given,—and desired to be still considered members of the National Church.

As a specimen of the form of petition when application was made for licenses, I give that presented by Robert Diggles, Thomas Bayley, Thomas Evans and eleven other persons, inhabitants of Manchester, in behalf of themselves and others, on which the license was granted to Mr. Newcome:—

“ The humble address, &c., sheweth, that Your Majesty’s gracious declaration of the 15th of March last past, wherein Your Majesty’s Indulgence to such as cannot conform in all things to the Church of England as it is now established is so fully manifested, is with all humble thankfulness acknowledged by us; and professing our loyalty to Your Sacred Majesty with all sincerity, and resolving, by the grace of God, to use the liberty so given us with that moderation and peaceableness that Your Majesty may not have cause to repent the favour afforded to us therein, we are humble petitioners to Your Sacred Majesty that, in pursuance thereof, Your Majesty would be graciously pleased to allow and license Mr. Henry Newcome, master in arts, one of the Presbyterian persuasion, our former minister in this place, to exercise his ministerial functions amongst us; and that the house of the said Mr. Newcome, hired for that purpose, situate in Manchester, may be the place allowed for their meeting; for which royal favour to the said Mr. Newcome and us, Your Majesty’s most humble petitioners shall ever pray.”

To return to Mr. Heywood. The day following that

on which he received intelligence of the change in the public policy respecting Non-Conformists he kept as a fast at Captain Hodgson's. He then went a round of visits among his friends at Halifax, Thornhill, Wakefield, Leeds and Bramhope; and a second round to Hopton, Cawthorne and Denby-hall, where lived his intimate friends the Cottons. They were no doubt visits of congratulation and delight. He then took his journey into Lancashire, visiting Mr. Horton at Sowerby by the way. He visited Rochdale, Denton and other places, as well as Manchester and Bolton, and returned home on April 26. A license was obtained for him, which bears date April 20, and was received by him on May 4. On the next day he preached at his house at Coley-hall to a great number of people.

“ Charles R.

“ Charles, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all mayors, bailiffs, constables and other officers and ministers, civil and military, whom it may concern, greeting. In pursuance of our Declaration of the 15th of March, 167 $\frac{1}{2}$, We do hereby permit and license Oliver Heywood, of the Presbyterian persuasion, to be a teacher of the congregation allowed by us in a room or rooms in his own house, in the parish of Halifax in the county of York, for the use of such as do not conform to the Church of England, who are of the persuasion commonly called Presbyterian, with further license and permission to him, the said Oliver Heywood, to teach in any place licensed and allowed by us, according to our said Declaration. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 20th day of April, in the twenty-fourth year of our reign, 1672.

“ By his Majesty's command.

“ Hewood, a teacher*.”

“ ARLINGTON.”

* This was Mr. Heywood's original license. He took out a second for the house of John Butterworth [at Warley] in the parish of Halifax, which bears date July 25, 1672, and this is the license of which an admirable fac-simile is given in the second volume of

When Mr. Heywood received this license he was just on the point of removing from Coley-hall to the house in the village of Northowram, about half a mile distance, the house in which he had formerly lived, in which his two sons were born and where his mother died. He was formerly the tenant, he now returned to it as the proprietor, which he notices as a circumstance worthy observation, inasmuch as the owner of it had thought by turning him out of it when he was only a tenant to compel him to leave the neighbourhood. He was able to accomplish the purchase by presents which had unexpectedly flowed in upon him. He gave one hundred marks for the house and a little portion of land; his friend and neighbour Jonathan Priestley managing the business for him. He says that he "preferred this house to any in the whole country round; and the rather that it is in Coley where my heart is more than in any place in the whole world beside." He lived in it for the remainder of his life, thirty years, and died in it. On the first evening which he spent in it he directed his son to read the thirty-second chapter of Jeremiah, and he

Mr. Vint's edition of the Works of Mr. Heywood. This second license is in the possession of Mr. Heywood's descendants. The former found its way into the museum of Mr. Wilson of Broomhead-hall near Sheffield, who collected with great avidity documents of every description, and left a noble collection of them at his death in 1783. I have seen both. It remains to be added, that in *The Life of Oliver Heywood*, by the Rev. J. Fawcett of Ewood-hall, a Baptist minister (2nd edit. Halifax, 12mo, 1809, p. 79), there is what purports to be a copy of the license granted to Mr. Heywood, but with this remarkable difference, that he is described as being of the "Independent," not "Presbyterian," persuasion. *Dr. Fawcett's copy of the license cannot be genuine.* He was too good a man to be suspected of any fraud, and he seems to have drawn up the license *as he concluded it must have run*, regarding Mr. Heywood, contrary however to all manner of evidence, as an Independent, not a Presbyterian, by the assistance of a printed copy of a license granted to another minister, which he found in Calamy. But such fabrications are always dangerous; and who can tell how much some persons may have been influenced by this unauthentic instrument to take a share in the attempts which have been lately made by the modern Independents to appropriate to themselves the Presbyterian endowments?

runs a parallel between his case and that of the prophet, in which, however, there is nothing peculiarly striking.

One of the largest rooms in the house he immediately set apart for the purpose of receiving the people who came to attend his religious ministrations. He calls it his 'meeting-house.' "On Lord's Day, May 12, I preached in my meeting-house in Northowram; had vast multitudes of people."—Again, May 29, "I had multitudes in and about my house, many went away because they could not come within hearing; oh for Rehoboth, room!"—"On Wednesday, May 19, we had a private fast in my meeting-house, the first week-day fast we have had there; God graciously helped."—June 2. "I preached at home; had a great assembly."

But besides what he did at home in this first month of his liberty, he was engaged in many other services in distant places: he kept a fast with four other ministers at Mr. Sharp's; another at Joshua Seynior's; another at John Kershaw's. He preached at John Butterworth's in Warley, where was a vast multitude of people. He kept a private day at Josiah Stansfield's. He also went to Wakefield, Hague-hall and Morley, at which last place he left his two sons to remain for education under the care of David Noble, a Non-Conforming minister, placing them at board at the house of Mr. Thomas Dawson.

The persons who formed the crowds who at this period attended Mr. Heywood's ministry may be divided into two classes, the constant and the occasional hearers. The former consisted, for the most part, of persons who had been his hearers while he was the public minister at Coley, and who had not ceased to look upon him as their pastor, though the bond between them had been forcibly broken. These had been accustomed to attend his secret ministrations, and they now stood forward as persons desirous to acknowledge him in a formal and public manner as their pastor and teacher, and to form his regular congregation, till the time came when they,

both pastor and people, might be received again into the National Church. Mr. Heywood immediately formed them in church-order, as he had attempted to do when he was the public minister, together with other persons who were desirous to join with them. They subscribed the following covenant* :—

“ We, the inhabitants of Coley chapelry and others, being professors of the Christian religion, do willingly and heartily subscribe to the doctrine of the Gospel contained in the Scriptures of truth, and solemnly profess our faith in God the Father, Creator of all things, in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the redeemer of God’s elect, and in the Holy Ghost, the sanctifier and comforter of the faithful, and do give up ourselves to the Lord in covenant according to the terms of the Gospel, to be ruled by His will in His word, acknowledging the need we have of the ministry of the word and seals of the covenant for our edification, do still own Oliver Heywood (whom God hath wonderfully restored to the exercise of his ministry amongst us) as our rightful pastor formerly chosen by us, and shall be willing, by the assistance of God’s grace, to believe and practise what truths and duties he shall make manifest to us to be the mind of God, desirous to maintain communion with God and one another in God’s worship, and to discharge what mutual duties God requires of us in his word as members of the same body, as occasion shall be offered ; resolving, by the grace of God, to walk in our places, as becomes the Gospel, in all good conscience towards God, one another, and to all others, to the end of our days, against all opposition by the persecutions and

* Though Mr. Heywood left an account of this transaction and many memoranda respecting the congregation, it is not easy to collect with exactness the number of persons whom he thus in the first instance gathered around him ; but they appear to have been above a hundred. Among them was Mrs. Mary Maleverer. whose mother was a grand-daughter of Archbishop Toby Matthew. This lady removed to Wakefield on her marriage with Mr. Samuel Boyse, a merchant there.

allurements of the world, temptations of Satan, and corruptions of our wicked hearts, in order to the glory of God and our eternal salvation.”

And they gave, one by one, the following pledge:—

“ I do heartily take this one God for my only God and my chief good, and this Jesus Christ for my only Lord, Redeemer and Saviour, and this Holy Ghost for my Sanctifier ; and the doctrine by Him revealed, and sealed by His miracles, and now contained in the Holy Scriptures, I do take for the law of God and the rule of my faith and life ; and, repenting unfeignedly of my sins, I do resolve, through the grace of God, sincerely to obey Him both in holiness to God and righteousness to man, and in special love to the saints and communion with them, against all the temptations of the devil, the world, and my own flesh, and this to the death.

“ I do consent to be a member of the particular church at Northowram, whereof Oliver Heywood is teacher and overseer, and to submit to his teaching and ministerial guidance and oversight, according to God’s word, and to hold communion with that church in the public worshipping of God, and to submit to the brotherly admonition of fellow-members, that so we may be built up in knowledge and holiness, and may the better maintain our obedience to Christ and the welfare of this society, and hereby may the more please and glorify God.”

Mr. Heywood himself made the following declaration:—

“ I, Oliver Heywood, in the county of York, minister of the Gospel, having spent above twenty years in the Lord’s work amongst the inhabitants of Coley chapelry, being suspended ten years from the public exercise of my ministry, am now at last restored, upon the earnest prayers of the church, to the exercise of my pastoral work in mine own house, by His Majesty’s Declaration and license, dated March 15th, 1672, do willingly and

thankfully accept of this open liberty of my ministry, lamenting my former neglects, justifying the Lord in the evil He hath brought upon us, begging reconciliation and a better heart to do God's work more faithfully, and imploring his blessing for success; and now resolving, by the assistance of God's grace, to give myself up to the Lord's work, among this people, in studying the Scriptures, preaching the word in season and out of season, praying with and for them, watching over them, instructing, admonishing, exhorting them publicly and privately, endeavouring to convert sinners, to confirm, comfort and quicken saints, to administer baptism and the Lord's Supper, exercise discipline according to the rules of the Gospel, (so far as I am convinced, from the word,) to walk before them in all holy example; resolving, by the grace of God, to suffer affliction and persecution with the people of God, if God call to it, as the faithful soldier of Christ and pastor of souls; that at last I may give up my account with joy, being pure from the blood of all men. So promiseth the unworthy servant of Christ, Oliver Heywood."

In this sensible, rational, affecting and edifying manner was the foundation laid of one of the Presbyterian congregations in the West Riding, one hundred and seventy years ago, a congregation which still exists, though it has undergone many modifications as well as various fortunes. And in a similar manner were the foundations laid of many other congregations, throughout the kingdom, though there is reason to think, in some instances, without these particular and formal pledges.

In its foundation the congregation at Northowram was purely Presbyterian, the pastor taking no authority from the people to teach and to preach, but deriving it by devolution from his fathers in the ministry at whose hands he had received ordination. Neither were there deacons appointed with co-ordinate authority with the pastor, with whom alone it remained to accept into his congregation those whom he thought proper to admit, and to

regulate the times, the manner and order of the public ministrations as seemed to himself to tend most to edification.

The congregation took the pledge on Wednesday, the 12th of June, on which occasion the Lord's Supper was administered. Here the ordinance appears to have been used as a kind of solemn ratification of the covenant, a purpose to which in all ages it appears to have been applied.

As soon as it was known that Mr. Heywood had gathered about him a congregation thus pledged to accept him as their pastor and to walk together in church-order and union, some persons who were Independents in principle expressed a desire to be permitted to join with them. Some of these had been members of the Independent church which the elder Root had collected at Sowerby, which church had been nearly dispersed on his decease. Mr. Heywood speaks of them as the soberer part; but it is best to give his own account of this material addition to his charge:—

“Upon Tuesday, June 18, '72, there was a solemn meeting appointed at my house betwixt our brethren of the Congregational persuasion and us. Accordingly there came several of Mr. Root's church, expressing their desire to join in communion with us in all ordinances. We declared plainly the state of both societies; our present actings, and the principles upon which we acted. And though our principles were different, yet we concurred in our actings for the main, and both parties were willing to overlook any matters of difference. And upon further debate and enumerating our members, they fully acquiesced in my fidelity as to admission; were willing to take them as they stood without demanding any further satisfaction concerning them; and we also owned theirs, and were willing to entertain them to all ordinances: and a special season was appointed for communicating together in the Lord's Supper. Both parties went away abundantly satisfied.” Then, remembering how despitefully he had been treated

by the Independents at the time of Sir George Booth's rising, he adds:—"This is the strange work of God! Men's spirits are strangely altered. Captain Hodgson earnestly promoted this work. Blessed be God. Zeph. iii. 9, Jeremiah l. 5, Phil. iii. 15."

Again:—"The servants of God through the nation, and particularly in this congregation, have a long time been begging a union and accommodation among the Lord's people. Particularly it has been my prayer to God for this poor congregation that it might be united together in Christian communion; and many years ago we had many meetings for that end, and still broke. But now at last the Congregational men among us have desired to sit down with us at the Lord's Supper. We had a conference and agreed upon it; and now, accordingly, July 14, 1672, we enjoyed that distinguishing ordinance together, being Lord's Day evening; were about sixty communicants of our and their members; sweet harmony; some comfortable presages of God, and good satisfaction."

Besides Captain Hodgson, the principal person who then joined with them was Mr. Joshua Horton of Sowerby*.

Mr. Heywood laid the foundation, at nearly the same time, of another Presbyterian society at Warley, another place in the parish of Halifax. "God," saith he, "hath cut out work for me in a new place; for, upon Whitsun-

* Robert Tillotson, father of the archbishop, had been a member of Mr. Root's church, but deserted it before the death of Mr. Root. He died in February, 1683. Mr. Heywood was invited to the funeral, but did not go. The archbishop's earliest connections lay among the Puritans of the stricter kind. A letter from Clare-hall to Mr. Root, the pastor of the family, written in 1649, has been often printed. There is the following notice of him by Mr. Heywood:—"Dr. Tillotson came to Sowerby, May 21, 1675, to visit his aged father, Robert Tillotson, who is eighty-two; allows his father, who traded all away, forty pounds a-year to live on. Preached at Sowerby twice on Lord's Day, May 23, being Whitsunday, on 1 John iii. 10, plainly and honestly, though some expressions were accounted dark and doubtful. May 30, he preached at Halifax."

Tuesday, May 28, '72, I was called to preach at John Butterworth's house in Warley, where a great multitude of people were got together. I hired the house for preaching in a twelvemonth for fifty shillings. God helped my heart; awakened people's affections, gave me some encouragement that God hath some work in that barren place. Yea, there are several in that neighbourhood that have come to hear me in mine own house above a year, and have set up religious duties and meetings together; so that there is good hope of mercy for them." He got a license for this house, himself being named as the minister; and we find him frequently preaching to this congregation in this year. But at the end of the year he gave it up. The reason given for the discontinuance was, that it was too near the meeting-house which Mr. Joshua Horton had established at Sowerby, and that Mr. Bentley, who seems not to have had the zeal or energy of Mr. Heywood, said the people would have too much preaching.

On June 5, he went to Leeds, where he found that Mr. Nesse had already established a meeting-house, at which Mr. Heywood preached. This was the beginning of the Independent congregation afterwards meeting at the chapel in Call-lane in that town.

On June 13, he went into Howarth parish, where he had never been before, and which he describes as a very immoral and profane place, where there had never been good preaching. He preached at the house of Jonas Foster to a very large assembly.

July 7, Going into Lancashire, he found that the Non-Conformists of Rochdale had established a meeting-house, at which he preached, and again, a few weeks later, with his brother of Ormskirk.

July 22, He set out on a round of visits in the neighbourhood of Wakefield; baptized a son of Mr. Thorpe of Hopton-hall; lodged at Mr. Josiah Oates' at Chick-enley; was present at Wakefield at a "house-lecture" of Mr. Kirby's; went forward to Hemsworth and Bads-

worth ; returned to Lady Rodes' at Houghton, and to Mr. Wordsworth's at Swathe-hall.

On September 18 he visited his friends in Lancashire, where he found a licensed meeting-house in Ainsworth, where he had in his youth often been accustomed to go to the public chapel : he preached in his brother Goodwin's pulpit at Bolton with Mr. Pike. On his return he lodged at Josiah Stansfield's. He went to Morley and preached at Mr. Bayley's meeting-house, an exercise with Mr. Jollie : he preached also at Mr. Dawson's meeting-house in Birstall parish, so thickly were they springing up around him. But before the end of the year he preached also at Mr. Holdsworth's meeting-house in Heckmondwike ; for Mr. Bentley at Halifax ; at Mr. Farrand's house in the parish of Bingley ; and at Alverthorpe, near Wakefield, where a malt-kiln had been converted into a meeting-house. These were the *primordia* of Presbyterian congregations, some of which still exist.

At Alverthorpe he had many hundred hearers. He preached also this year, November 19, at the house of Richard Wilkinson, near Keighley, which he describes as a profane place. Here he was interrupted while preaching, not by the magistracy, but by one of the sectaries, a person named West, an Antinomian, who had been a Quaker.

In a few places where the Non-Conformists were rich or sanguine, they began to build meeting-houses. This was the case at Leeds, where the Presbyterians in 1673 erected the chapel on Mill-hill, where they still continue to assemble. Thoresby, the Leeds antiquary, whose father was one of the chief promoters of the design, says that it was the first chapel built in the north of England, and that it was built, *more ecclesiastico*, with arches. But in general the liberty granted by the Declaration of Indulgence was thought too precarious to justify such a step as this, and the event showed that it was so.

We see, therefore, in the preparation of places set apart for public worship, and in the formation of congregations in church order, though this latter measure does not appear to have been general among the Presbyterians, the setting out of a community or sect of Christians, the severing them more distinctly than had yet been the case from the great community of English Protestants.

But the Non-Conformists, in the year of which I am speaking, adopted two other measures which went even farther than this in giving them the character of a distinct religious community looking forward to a continuance in that character. These two measures were the establishment of academies for the education of their youth of the better condition in University learning, and especially of the youth who were destined for the ministry among them; and the ordination among themselves of persons who were desirous to enter the Presbyterian ministry.

The Non-Conformists in the north of England were fortunate in having amongst them a person who was excellently well qualified to discharge the duties of that difficult and responsible office, the tutor and director of one of these academies. This was Mr. Frankland, a minister then in the vigour of life, being of the same age with Mr. Heywood, and having studied at the same time in the University of Cambridge. "There," says Calamy, "he made good proficiency both in divine and human learning, and had no small credit in the University." He there also was deeply impressed by the ministry of Mr. Hammond. He received Presbyterian ordination in 1653, and was settled at Bishop Auckland when the Uniformity Act drove him out of the Church. It was the re-ordination on which he chiefly rested his dissent, and his repugnance to renounce his Presbyterian orders led him to resist the importunities of Bishop Cosin, who would gladly have retained him in the

Church*. In the Commonwealth times he was named a tutor in the college which was to be established at Durham for the northern youth. When he was silenced he retired to Rathmel in Craven, where he had an hereditary estate. Here he set up a private academy, having under his charge a son of Sir Thomas Liddel, a son of Dr. Whitaker, a physician near Burnley, who afterwards became the minister of the Independent congregation at Leeds; also Elston, who was afterwards the minister of the Independent congregation at Topcliffe. Three other names are mentioned of early students in the list of his pupils, which is printed as an appendix to the funeral sermon of Mr. Daniel Madock of Burton-upon-Trent, one of the last survivors of them, and which agrees with one in Mr. Heywood's hand-writing in most particulars; but it was in 1672 that the academy began to flourish, and that the Presbyterian ministers began to send their sons who were destined to the ministry to the care of Mr. Frankland. Some opposition was made to Mr. Frankland, and he was obliged to move his academy from place to place, as in 1674 to Natland, near Kendal; in 1683 to Calton in Craven; in 1686 to Attercliffe, near Sheffield; and in 1689 to Rathmel again, where it continued till Mr. Frankland's decease in 1698. The whole number of pupils was three hundred and three. After his death the academy was continued by Mr. Chorlton, Mr. Newcome's successor as the Presbyterian minister at Manchester, and another academy for the north was established by Mr. Jollie of Sheffield at Attercliffe soon after the time when Mr. Frankland left that village. One of the pupils of Mr. Frankland, Dr. Clegge of Chapel-en-le-Frith, describes the course of study in this academy as having consisted of "logic, metaphysics, somatology, pneumatology, natural philo-

* The bishop proposed to give him ordination in private, thus: "If thou hast not been ordained, I ordain thee," &c. Mr. Frankland declined, on the ground of conscience.—*Account*, &c., p. 286.

sophy, divinity, and chronology," and gives some particulars of the discipline of the house*.

The first Presbyterian ordination among the Non-Conformists in the north of England, and perhaps the first in any part of the kingdom, was held at Manchester on the 29th of October, 1672. Mr. Heywood was one of the ministers engaged in it †, the others being Mr. Angier, Mr. Newcome, Mr. Finch, and Mr. Robert Eaton, at whose house in Deans-gate the ordination was performed. The persons ordained had been all in the exercise of the ministry for several years. They were Mr. Joseph Dawson, the near neighbour and friend of Mr. Heywood; Mr. Samuel Angier, the nephew of Mr. Angier of Denton; and Mr. John Jollie, a younger brother of Thomas Jollie of Altham.

The notices by Mr. Heywood of what was done on this occasion are few. The duties of the day were begun by Mr. Eaton with prayer: then Mr. Finch prayed; then Mr. Heywood. Mr. Angier took the confession of faith from Mr. Dawson, and his answers to what Mr. Hey-

* *The Life and Character of the Rev. John Ashe of Ashford*, 12mo, 1736, p. 53—56.

† On his arrival at Manchester the day before, he went immediately to the church, where the Warden was preaching a funeral sermon for Mr. Nicholas Moseley of Ancoats, whom he calls his "uncle," with that disposition which prevailed in those times to comprehend as many persons as possible within the terms of relationship. Mr. Moseley was brother to Mrs. Angier, the second wife of Mr. Angier, whose daughter by a former marriage Mr. Heywood had married to his first wife. Mr. Moseley is described as a justice of the peace, and a great man in those parts. He was travelling on horseback to London with his man and two Dickinsons, his friends, accompanying him, and was seized with an apoplectic attack while on horseback, when near Lichfield, and died in twelve hours. The body was brought in a coach to Manchester. He was on his way to London to carry on a suit which he had commenced against his brother, Mr. Edward Moseley of Holme-hall, who was executor to Sir Edward Moseley, by whom a legacy of 7000*l.* had been bequeathed to Nicholas. A great suit with the Maynards had also arisen out of the will of Sir Edward.

wood calls the usual questions ; he then delivered the ordination prayer with imposition of hands. Mr. Newcome did the same for the younger Angier, and Mr. Eaton for Mr. Jollie. Then Mr. Newcome delivered a discourse from 1 Timothy iv. 12, and gave the young ministers a charge ; and the whole was concluded with prayer and the blessing. Mr. Heywood having given these few particulars observes, “ It was a sweet solemn day ; an hopeful budding of Aaron’s rod after a sharp winter : Blessed be the Lord ! ” No persons appear to have been present except those engaged.

Towards the close of the year, namely, on the 27th of November, Mr. Heywood kept a solemn day of thanksgiving for the liberty which had been granted them ; on which occasion, to use his own expression, “ he made his friends a feast.”

CHAPTER XII.

1673—1674.

MR. HEYWOOD INTERRUPTED AT LASSEL-HALL.—CHRISTMAS FESTIVITIES AT WOODSOME.—PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT RESPECTING THE KING'S DECLARATION.—THE TEST ACT.—FEELING OF NON-CONFORMISTS TOWARDS THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.—SUCCESS OF MR. HEYWOOD'S LABOURS.—THE BAYLEYS.—DEVOTES HIS SONS TO THE NON-CONFORMING MINISTRY, AND SENDS THEM TO MR. HICKMAN'S.—INTERESTING DOMESTIC SERVICE BEFORE THEIR DEPARTURE.—MR. HORTON BUILDS A CHAPEL AT SOWERBY.—OPPOSITION OF DR. HOOKE.—VIOLENT DISSENSIONS IN THE PARISH.—THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM AT HALIFAX.—DUEL OF MR. JENNINGS AND MR. AISLABIE.—NON-CONFORMITY AT YORK; LEEDS; WAKEFIELD.—INTERRUPTION.—DEATHS OF SEVERAL MINISTERS.—HIS SONS GO TO MR. FRANKLAND'S.—MARRIAGE OF HIS SERVANT, MARTHA BAIRSTOW.

1673.

ON new-year's day Mr. Heywood travelled through great rain and tempest to the village of Idle, where he preached in the meeting-place, at which at that time Mr. Johnson usually officiated*. On the 2nd of January he preached at Mr. Richardson's at Lassel-hall, and while thus engaged he was interrupted by a clerk of Sir John Kaye of Woodsome, a neighbouring magistrate, who was zealous against Non-Conformity. The clerk required Mr. Heywood and Mr. Richardson to produce their licenses, and on the next day they repaired to Woodsome, where

* Who is the Mr. Johnson mentioned very slightly by Dr. Calamy, ejected in Yorkshire. He lived in the latter part of his life at Painthorpe near Wakefield, and his modest tomb still remains in a retired part of the church-yard of Sandal.

they produced the license for Lassel-hall. Mr. Heywood had not his own license with him, but he sent it in a few days for the inspection of Sir John Kaye. At the interview, Sir John Kaye intimated that they had gone beyond the king's intention, and that his permission was abused. It is not clear that this could be made out, so that, no wonder, Mr. Heywood departed little satisfied with the interview. He was the less so, as he found the house at Woodsome full of jollity. There was "open house, feasting, drinking, revelling: there I saw a great number of gentlemen, among whom was Mr. Thomas Horton, musicians, master of misrule, or lord of misrule, as they call him, &c." Mr. Heywood had fallen on the twelve days of Christmas, which from time immemorial had been observed as a time of great hospitality in the old halls of Yorkshire, but especially at Woodsome*.

On the 13th he preached at James Dyson's in West-

* Some years ago I caused to be inserted in *The Retrospective Review* the Christmas Song of Woodsome, from a copy by one of the family. It has more of good feeling than of poetry, and it certainly gives a not-unfavourable impression of the effect of the Christmas hospitalities of the old time. Take three of the stanzas as a specimen:—

"The master of this house, where now ye are set,
Doth think you all welcome and much in your debt;
That with him you are pleased to use honest mirth,
And with him to rejoice in Jesus Christ's birth."

"He doth eke require you, both more and less,
If there be among you any grief or distress,
To reconcile yourselves, in this time of mirth,
That you may be partakers of Jesus Christ's birth."

"The master of this house, simple though he be,
Doth care for his neighbours in every degree;
And earnestly biddeth you turn wrath to mirth,
By the godly embracing of Jesus Christ's birth."

Yet it must, I fear, be allowed that there was much of intemperance at the festive meetings of the gentry of the better class at that time in Yorkshire.

wood, near Slaughthwaite, and on the next day, five miles further, at Lidget, a licensed place, where afterwards a chapel arose. On March 16 he was at Dr. John Hall's at Kipping in Thornton, to preach, where also one of the old Non-Conforming societies arose.

On April 11 he was at Manchester, where he attended a meeting held at Mr. Newcome's house to consult about "ministers' continuance to preach." I do not find more respecting this meeting in any remains of the time, but it was plainly held in reference to the new position of public affairs, the Parliament, which met in February, having passed a resolution that the king's Declaration was at variance with the constitution. The terms of the vote were these: "That His Majesty's pretended power of suspending the penal laws in matters ecclesiastical might tend to the interruption of the free course of the laws and the altering of the legislative power, which hath been always acknowledged to reside in His Majesty and in his two Houses of Parliament." Mr. Love, one of the members for the city of London, and himself a Non-Conformist, voted for this resolution, declaring that he would rather still go without liberty than have it in a way that would prove so detrimental to the nation. Plans of legislative relief for the Non-Conformists were proposed, but nothing was done; and the Parliament rose, the king having promised that his Declaration should not be drawn into a precedent, and having given his assent to the bill which was directed against the Papists, but which, under the name of the Test Act, came afterwards to be regarded as a very great grievance by the Non-Conforming Protestants.

This enactment declared that no person should hold any office or place of trust who did not take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance; and that all who should be admitted into any office, civil or military, after the first day of Easter term, 1673, should receive the sacrament according to the usage of the Church of England, within three months after their admittance, in some public

church upon some Lord's Day. The Non-Conformists had nothing to object to the oaths of supremacy and allegiance ; but with respect to the latter provision, the Independent portion of them would object to it as being an acknowledgement of a National Church, and the Presbyterians as the sacrament could not be received in the Church but in the kneeling posture, which to those in whom the ancient Puritan scruples were not worn away was greatly objectionable ; and after a while, through the whole Non-Conforming body, a strong feeling prevailed that there was desecration of this holy ordinance in its being made a kind of test of a man's fitness to take upon himself an office which was merely temporal. The continuance of this Act, and also of the Corporation Act, passed in 1661, which required the same test, constituted the great grievance of the Dissenters after the relief which they obtained by the Toleration Act of 1689, nor was it removed till the present century.

I shall abridge Mr. Heywood's remarks on these affairs, retaining all that is material.

“The Parliament being to sit February 4, 1672-3, there were many hopes of our adversaries, and great fears of God's people, lest they should disannul the King's Declaration for our indulgence. The king made a speech to the Parliament, tells them of the good effect of it, vindicates it from the liberty of Papists thereby. We received news from the Parliament that they had voted this indulgence illegal, the other party being out-voted by sixty votes.” Again, “Yesterday, April 3, 1673, I had intelligence that God hath owned his ministers and people, and heard prayer in the face of the nation ; particularly that though the Parliament have been long puzzling about our liberty, and were resolved at least to alter it and settle it some other way according to law, which we should have been glad of had the terms been tolerable ; but they could not accord, and have therefore left it to His Majesty's pleasure to do as he sees occasion, which is that he hath stickled so much

for. But withal they have passed a severe bill against the Papists, which we take as a rich mercy."

The last clause is a remarkable indication of the feeling of the times, especially as coming from a man who was himself claiming from the state an indulgence and toleration which it was ill disposed to grant; and it shows how little the fundamental principle of toleration was then understood even amongst those who wanted it,—that men should be thrown on their individual responsibility in respect of their religious faith and practice as long as they demean themselves as good subjects in things temporal. That there was, however, a difference between the case of the Non-Conforming Protestant and that of the members of the Catholic Church can hardly be in fairness denied, arising out of the political state of Europe and the then state of the balance of power, which rendered the strengthening of the Protestant interest a matter of great importance to the maintenance of peace and of the independency of the Protestant states. It required the passing away of four or five generations before the Non-Conforming body could be brought to see that toleration was the due of the Papist, and might safely, and ought justly, to be extended to him. Their slowness in coming to this conclusion must be in part attributed to their natural jealousy of their own liberty, which they conceived to be inseparably united with the principles of the Revolution and of the accession of the house of Hanover*. But these ob-

* There are few things more remarkable in the conduct of the Non-Conforming body than the pains which they took to cherish an abhorrence (I do not use too strong a term) of Popery, without sufficiently distinguishing between the principle and the persons. I find a good old Non-Conformist lady, a grand-daughter of Philip Henry, entering in her diary in 1726, that on the 5th of November her minister "concluded an excellent discourse with the old pathetic exhortation, 'I commend you to the love of God and to the hatred of Popery.'" There are expressions of this kind in a sermon of Dr. Benson's, a gentle and moderate man, about 1746, which are absolutely shocking, not merely to Christian feeling, but to the feelings of humanity. In some of the dissenting chapels copies of the Book

servations of Mr. Heywood are the more remarkable, when we consider that this very Act in which he rejoices became almost immediately one of the great grievances to his own party. Thus "even-handed justice," &c.

The king did not recall or annul the licenses at this time. It was, however, nothing to Mr. Heywood as to his own determination, whether king or Parliament were favourable or unfavourable to his design. Preach he would, whatever might be their determination; and far from me to say this lightly, who have the unimpeachable witnesses of the integrity of his heart before me, of his zeal for the best interests of man, and of his own earnest desire to approve himself a faithful servant of Him who had called him. If the public authorities gave him facilities, he accepted them and was grateful; if they presented obstacles, he showed that he had an energy of action, and an energy of patience also, by which he could meet and overcome them.

He received, at the time of which we are speaking, encouragement to proceed in his ministry by finding unexpected proofs that he had not spent his strength in vain. He often remarks that the people to whom he preached were affected at the time; but on the 23rd of

of Martyrs were laid on the sacrament-table by the side of the Bible; and this book was preserved in the Non-Conforming families as, next to the Bible, their most valuable literary treasure. This book must have had great influence on the English nation. I well remember it in my own family, and the effect which the prints had upon me in early childhood, when the leaves were turned over for me, and a plaintive voice, which I seem now to hear, spoke of the pitiable sufferings of Latimer and Ridley, and the barbarous severities of Bonner.

The connexion between Dr. Priestley and Mr. Berrington had something to do in wearing off these asperities. The labours of Dr. Geddes in biblical criticism did more, as showing that the Bible was by no means a neglected book among the Roman Catholics; but the discussions on the Catholic Relief Bill were the main cause of the change of feeling towards them in the Non-Conforming body, together with the changed posture of European politics. Almost the whole body of the old Dissenters of England joined in petitions in favour of their relief.

June, 1673, he enters in his note-books that he had friends visiting him from the neighbourhood of Woodkirk, when John Coppendale, one of them, told him that of the persons who had been lately admitted into the Independent Church at Topcliffe, of which Mr. Marshall was then the pastor, most of them had declared in their experience, that the first work upon their minds was by his ministry, when they heard him in the "sad and silencing times." He takes occasion from this to remark, that there were long seasons of danger in those times, when no minister in those parts, except himself, dared to preach.

He notices also, about the same time, what he calls "a sweet and signal return of prayer."—"Mr. Samuel Bayley, the only son of my good old friend Samuel Bayley of Allerton in Bradford parish, a solid, gracious, useful, peaceable, tender-hearted Christian as any I have known; I have been with him at many a sweet day of prayer; and a few days before he died we were at a private fast together in Ovenden-wood; and oh! oh! how melting and affectionate was his heart for his children, a son and daughter, both here this day! The daughter is married to John Brooksbank of Elland, a godly man. The son preached with me this day; prayed admirably well; preached a most solid experimental sermon concerning Christ's withdrawing from souls, from Canticles iii, 1; handled it exceedingly profitably and awakeningly to sinners. I succeeded, and my heart was much melted; and in the beginning of prayer God helped my expressions and affections in breaking forth into God's praises for his infinite mercy in returning an answer to prayer, which had influence upon my following discourse, and animated my hopes for my children. This was Midsummer-day, June 24, 1673, in my house."

The allusion here to his own sons arises out of the determination which he had now formed to bring them both up to the Non-Conforming ministry. Two other ministers in his neighbourhood, his intimate friends, did

the same, namely, Mr. Richardson of Lassel-hall, and Mr. Kirby of Wakefield, who had given to his only son the name of God's-gift, which sounds harsher in English than the corresponding and well-known name of Diodati does in the Italian. A lay-friend, Mr. Cotton, also devoted one of his sons at this time to the Non-Conforming ministry. Why they were not sent at once to Mr. Frankland, I do not well understand; but on some inducement, Mr. Heywood, Mr. Richardson, and Mr. Cotton sent at first their sons to a more distant academy, namely, that which Mr. Hickman had established at Dusthorpe, near Broomsgrove, in Worcestershire*. The party set out on Monday, May 19, 1673.

An important step like this was not taken without previous religious solemnities:—"My sons being to go abroad for learning next week, I took them with me to three private days this week. One was at Halifax, May 14; at home, May 15; the last at Mr. Dawson's, May 16. But Thursday, at home, was such a day as we have seldom had. I purposely appointed it to seek God in their behalf, and God wonderfully helped all his servants to plead for them. About the middle of the day I called them both forth before the company; asked them several questions, as, What calling they chose? With tears they both answered, 'The ministry.' I asked them, For what end? they might suffer persecution; must not dream of honour therein, and to live like gentlemen, &c. They told me, 'Their only end was to glorify God

* Mr. Hickman, who was a bachelor of divinity and a celebrated preacher at Oxford, had been turned out of a fellowship of Magdalene College. He was the author of many controversial works, among which is one entitled *Laudensium Apostasia, showing that many Divines are fallen from the doctrine received in the Church of England*, 4to, 1660. He wrote the *Apologia pro Ministris in Angliâ vulgò Non-Conformistis*, an. 1662, Aug. 24, die Bartholomeo dicto, *ejectis*, &c., 12mo, 1664. This was intended to circulate on the continent among the foreign Protestants. After continuing his academy for some years he retired to Holland, where he was minister of the English congregation at Leyden.

and win souls.' I marked John's words: he said, 'He desired to do God more service than any of his ancestors.' I asked them, What they desired Mr. Dawson and the rest of God's servants might pray to God for on their behalf? They spoke openly, both of them. Eliezer spoke first, and said, 'That God would give them grace and gifts, forgive the sins of their childhood and loss of time; would make them studious, keep them from temptation and sinful company.' John's answer was much what of that nature. They both wept exceedingly; tears dropped down apace; the whole company wept. Then I gave them up solemnly to God in his work. They that went to prayer read also a scripture. W. B. read 1 Samuel i, of dedicating Samuel to God; Mr. Dawson read Genesis xxviii, of Isaac's sending away his son Jacob; R. R. read Proverbs iii, about getting wisdom; Mr. Hodgson read the latter end of Genesis xlviii, from verse 8 to the end, and when he came to those words, verse 16, 'The Angel which redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads,' tears stopped him; we all wept. The scripture I read, and expounded briefly, was 1 Chronicles xx, of Solomon's charge by David about building the temple. In prayer God helped all; but God wrought strangely in my heart: oh, what a flood of tears! what pleadings with God! I can scarce remember the like. Blessed be God! it's a token for good. At night, after the young men's conference, I set my two sons a praying. Eliezer began, and wept and prayed very feelingly; but John exceeded, both in strong scriptural expostulations, and sobbing and weeping, that sometimes he could hardly speak: and such an evening of such a day I have seldom had in all my life. I watch to 'hear what the Lord will speak' to all these; surely 'he will speak peace;' but oh, that I and mine might 'not return to folly!' On Friday, May 16, Mr. Dawson had appointed a day of thanksgiving the day after this sweet fast; Mr. Bentley and he and I kept the day, with many more; and God graciously helped our hearts, though I had not such strange

motions and affections as the day before ; yet I look upon this as a pledge and presage of occasions of thankfulness to God in future times, yea, a kind of antedating and anticipating a day of rejoicing in the mercies begged of God the day before. And, as we had the ordinance of baptism, so they named the child Eliezer*, ‘ God is my help,’ after my younger son’s name.”

In this year Mr. Joshua Horton, whose name has been mentioned as a member of Mr. Root’s church, but afterwards joining Mr. Heywood, built a meeting-house for the Non-Conformists in or near Sowerby in this parish, at a place called Quarry-hill, for which he obtained a license by Mr. Heywood’s assistance. It was to be supplied with services by four of the neighbouring ministers, namely, Mr. Heywood, Mr. Bentley, Mr. Dawson, and Mr. Timothy Root. It was opened on Tuesday, May 6, and Mr. Horton intended that there should be a Tuesday lecture preached in it. This measure excited strong feeling in the mind of Dr. Hooke, for Mr. Horton was a very principal person in his parish, a justice of the peace, and a man of 1000*l.* a-year estate †. Dr. Hooke thought it his duty to interpose, and the first step which he took was to address to Mr. Horton the following letter, of which neither the temper nor the style is much to be admired :—

* The sons of Mr. Dawson, as I find in some of the family papers, were named Abraham, Joseph, Obadiah, Eliezer, Samuel, and Eli, all Old Testament names, according to the custom of the parish. Abraham, Joseph, and Eli were all Non-Conforming ministers. Eliezer, who was born on the 9th of May, 1673, and whose baptism is noticed in the text, did not maintain the reputation of this family for virtuous and religious habits. He was living in 1735, when I find one of his nieces, the daughter of his brother Joseph Dawson, pathetically lamenting his folly, and interceding with God for him : “ Thou knowest he is the son of thy faithful servant, and the son of thy handmaid ! ”

† Mr. Horton of Sowerby was a brother of William Horton of Howroyd. His eldest son removed to Chaderton in Lancashire, and was the grandfather of William Horton of that place, who was created a baronet in 1764.

“ Sir,—I hoped to have met you with your minister on Wednesday at our church, and after with your brethren, the feoffees of Mr. Nathaniel Waterhouse, at the lecturer’s house ; but I suppose you were so full with the four hours’ exercise at the dedication of your new-built cottage, as you formerly called it, now turned into a synagogue, that you could not digest the prayers of our church and a sermon there the next day. Had I seen you then, or foreseen your designed meeting, I should have been so bold (as my pastoral duty binds me) to have asked your authority. To that end I was to wait on you at your inn to-day, but you being gone home, I sent after you this messenger on the same errand. If you have authority, I desire you to show it, and that before the next meeting (which I hear is on Tuesday next), and I have done. If you have not, I request you to desist, your act (however you judge it) being a sin, a scandal, a schism, a danger ; and so you will find perhaps sooner than you expect. If you shall please in thankfulness to God, who hath increased your estate, to express your pious charity, you may do it more piously in making an addition to the chapel of Sowerby. I give you this timely intimation and caution in Christian charity, and expect your present answer.”

Mr. Horton wrote a temperate reply, in which he spoke of God’s command for preaching the word, in season and out of season, of the King’s Indulgence and of the license which he had obtained for the place ; and declaring that what he had done was not in opposition to, nor prejudice of, the public ordinance of the Lord’s Day, to which he bore a due reverence, and at which he gave attendance, but to redeem a little time for God’s service and the good of souls ; and withal, reminding the vicar that, if he rightly considered the great abounding of sin and necessity of sinners, he would see a need of obeying that command, “ Cry aloud, spare not,” &c., and would thank God for such as would help in that good work.

Mr. Horton read this letter before it was sent, to the society at Northowram, the day of the Lord's Supper being administered happening to be at the time. Mr. Horton's practice at that time was to attend the services at the public chapel at Sowerby, except on the Sundays which were perhaps once a month, when he went to hear Mr. Heywood at Northowram. His contribution to Mr. Booker, the public minister, was eight pounds per annum, and he gave ten shillings to the minister for each of the services in his own meeting-place.

It was not in Dr. Hooke's power to prevent Mr. Horton from doing what appeared to him right in this particular ; but not long after he took an opportunity of annoying Mr. Horton, in a way which is an early, and may be the first instance, of the provisions of the Test Act being brought to bear against the Non-Conformists. He insisted on the Sacrament being taken kneeling, though this was generally dispensed with by the clergy of that time, out of deference to the scruples of their Puritan parishioners. Dr. Hooke caused it to be understood that he had determined to grant no certificate of the ordinance having been received to any person who did not kneel ; and at the same time insisted upon the governors of the Grammar-school at Halifax, of whom Mr. Horton was one, qualifying under the Act. This appears to have been a very unreasonable extension of the scope of the Act. Some of the governors did thus qualify, but others refused ; and Dr. Hooke, in still greater irritation, inveighed, in the pulpit of the church of Halifax, against preaching in houses, as a dishonour to God, and tending to bring preaching into contempt.

Dr. Hooke seemed determined at this time to act with all possible hostility against the Non-Conformists. " Monday morning, November 10, 1673, there came an apparitor from York, and another from Halifax, and apprehended James Brooksbank and Robert Ramsden, two of our members, upon a writ *de Excommunicato capiendo* ; the occasion whereof was, their refusing to

take the churchwardens' oath; though they faithfully served the office. When they were excommunicated, as they call it, they consulted with us what to do, fearing this *capias*. We desired them to send to York and get it off, if a little money would do it; but Dr. Hooke hath put a bar to that, so that it could not be done, so that it ran up to this; and this day, November 11, they are gone towards York Castle, together with one Joshua Smith of Sowerby, a Quaker, upon the same account; which they must do, unless they would have given eight pounds a piece for their release. God Almighty go with them! We had a solemn day of prayer at William Clay's the same day they were taken, and so sent them away with prayer." They did not, however, find their way into the cells of the Castle, for, on their arrival at York, they consented to pay six pounds each, and were released.

In the midst of these heats the Duke of Buckingham visited Halifax. He was raising recruits for the army. Dr. Hooke was absent, being at Ripon, preaching in his prebendal course. The duke attended the church on the Sunday, when the lecturer preached, but gave so little satisfaction, that in the afternoon the duke refused to go, and walked up to the Gibbet. He lodged at the house of Dr. Maud, of whom he inquired if there were any Non-Conformists in those parts, and being answered "Many," he said it was the king's pleasure that they should have their liberty. Henry Lord Fairfax was with him, to whom Mr. Bentley communicated Dr. Hooke's treatment of the Non-Conformists; who said, that if Dr. Hooke had been at home, the duke would certainly have given him a rebuke, as he had lately done to Mr. Cooke at Leeds, when he complained to him of the meetings of fanatics. The duke appears to have allowed himself to use very violent language when speaking with clergymen on this subject.

This view of the state of the parish of Halifax during the existence of the king's Licenses cannot be looked at

without great concern. It shows, that if good was done by the irregular ministrations of such men as Mr. Heywood, that the good did not come unattended with moral as well as physical evil: and we may learn from it the evil of laying a disproportionate stress on peculiarities of opinion in respect of religious faith and practice, as tending to social disunion and the evils we have contemplated; and, on the other hand, the wisdom of exercising the utmost forbearance in those in whom any portion of the public power is vested, in the treatment of those who deem themselves, rightly or wrongly, bound to take any peculiar course of religious practice.

In the August of this year Mr. Heywood was at York, and his brief notes of what he did on this visit afford us a glimpse of what the Non-Conformists of that city were doing. He was a visitor at the house of Sir John Hewley; heard Mr. Williams, one of the ejected ministers, at Lady Watson's, on the 7th; preached on the next day with Mr. Ward, another ejected minister, at his meeting-place at Mr. Andrew Taylor's, and again on Sunday, in the afternoon. So that we see Non-Conformity active, and the work countenanced by persons of consideration.

1674.

This year passed as the preceding. The king's Indulgence was still continued; but still the enemies of Non-Conformity found out means to annoy, and were the more eager against them as they saw the number of separate congregations increasing everywhere. We have at this time the punctual relation by Mr. Heywood of every day's occurrences.

On March 25, he preached "at Mill-hill in Leeds." At this newly-erected chapel there were at first four ministers, two of whom, Mr. Sale and Mr. Sharp, have already been frequently mentioned. The other two were Mr. Cornelius Todd, son of Mr. Robert Todd, who had been a minister at Leeds in the Commonwealth-times,

and Mr. Richard Stretton, who had been chaplain to Thomas Lord Fairfax, and who was through life, the greater part of which was spent in London, one of the most active and influential managers of the affairs of Non-Conformity. But the Non-Conformists of Leeds were not allowed, even in the times of the Indulgence, to proceed without molestation.—“We had the case of Leeds much upon our hearts to God in prayer, because it is the most considerable place in these parts, and God hath graciously brought them off, indeed wonderfully, after some shocks. Two bailiffs informed against fifty persons being at Mill-hill May 24, and June 7, 1674, but were baffled; indicted for perjury; bill found at Leeds Sessions and York Assizes; warrants out for them. Still their enemies were busy; prevailed with the mayor to send six officers to the meeting-place, who came August 26; Mr. Todd was preaching. The constable said the mayor charged them to desist that work in that place: Mr. Todd boldly replied, ‘Are you not Christians? And surely you will not be worse to us than heathens were to Paul, who had liberty to preach the Gospel in heathen Rome.’ They went away. We, hearing that the archbishop was at Leeds, were afraid of some combinations against them. We earnestly prayed for them August 24, being Bartholomew’s Day. The day after we had account of their full liberty still; even the Lord’s Day the bishop was at Leeds.”

Mr. Heywood experienced a similar interruption when preaching at Alverthorpe, September 20. Three bailiffs came in the morning, and in the afternoon many profane persons from Wakefield, among whom was “a wild young scholar, one Ratcliffe,” (who must have been he who was afterwards the celebrated physician of that name) and who afterwards entertained his riotous companions with mimicry of Mr. Heywood’s sermon and the delivery of it. On November 13, Mr. Copley and Mr. Whyte held a private Sessions at Wakefield, the only business at which was to summon Mr. Heywood and

forty persons of the Alverthorpe congregation, including Mr. Dyneley and Mr. Kirk, to convict them under the Conventicle Act. The two justices having sat above half an hour, and none of the persons summoned appearing, they adjourned the Sessions, and meeting some of the parties on the road, spake courteously to them. This Mr. Heywood attributes to the conduct of the Duke of Buckingham, who had rebuked Mr. Copley the Saturday before at Leeds for troubling his neighbours. Sir John Armitage, Sir John Kay and Mr. Benson had refused to attend this Sessions.

The congregation at Alverthorpe was the same which afterwards met at a chapel in Wakefield. It had been regularly constituted some months before, but, even at this early period, the inconvenience of popular election of a minister began to be felt. "The inhabitants met about choice of a minister; and though in the beginning the storm of unruly passion grew high amongst them, yet towards the close their spirits were so sweetly calmed, that they all condescended to one thing; agreed lovingly, and parted good friends." This was a little before June the 28th, on which day Mr. Heywood preached to them, recommending peace.

On the 30th of June he preached in Lady Rodes' chapel at Great Houghton, in company with Mr. Richardson. "I began concerning 'the Root of the Matter;' he went on from Colossians i, 20, on 'Fruitfulness in every good work.' God ordered our subjects as if we had purposely cast them into the same mould."

Dr. Hooke continued his opposition. "About July 20, 1674, there came out an order from the archbishop, some say of the procurement of Dr. Hooke, to cause the old churchwardens of last year, and now of this, to join together and present all their names through the parishes as did not receive the Sacrament at church. A great bustle they made about it; several meetings, but could do nothing. The doctor put them on, but, at the latter end, when he saw he could not effect any thing, he told the

old officers plainly, that if they made any other presentments they were perjured, having given in the former upon oath. So they gave their five shillings a-piece to Dr. Hooke and Thomas Cockcroft, to bring them off with the spiritual court."

This was a year of great mortality among the ministers of Mr. Heywood's acquaintance, on both sides of the mountains. "God hath sadly broken us by death of several Non-Conforming ministers; Mr. Bath of Rochdale, Mr. Shelmerdine of Mottram, and Mr. Jones of Eccles." In Yorkshire there died, Mr. Clayton of Rotherham, Mr. Birkbeck of Sheffield, Mr. Cart of Hansworth, and Mr. Witton of Thornhill. Mr. Clayton died on June 13, after a very short illness, having been out of his house the day before, and the preceding day having visited Mr. Birkbeck at Sheffield. He was born, lived and died at Rotherham. Mr. Birkbeck followed him on the 8th of July, and was buried in the churchyard at Sheffield on the 10th, on which occasion Mr. Bloom preached. The stone which covers his grave was in existence within these few years, but searching for it lately in that overcrowded cemetery, it was gone, with three or four other gravestones having upon them names of ministers who were ejected. Mr. Cart died at the beginning of September. He is described by Mr. Heywood as "a great scholar, a good man, a good preacher," and he says, "There is great loss of him, being a useful man in those parts." There is a small collection of tombs of this family in the churchyard of Hansworth, which living he had resigned. Mr. Witton had been rector of Thornhill. He had not preached after his ejection, being rich, yet had been of great use for his poor brethren's supply. The reader will find more respecting all these ministers in Dr. Calamy's invaluable work.

Two events of a domestic nature occurring in this year remain to be mentioned.

Mr. Heywood's two sons, having been not quite a year

with Mr. Hickman, were recalled home, and transferred to Mr. Frankland's academy. This appears to have been early in the year. On the 23rd of April Mr. Heywood was with Mr. Richardson at Lassel-hall, consulting about Mr. Richardson's son joining his sons at Mr. Frankland's, a design which Mr. Heywood did not heartily approve, thinking that the son of Mr. Richardson had done his sons no good at Mr. Hickman's. The two Heywoods, the younger Richardson, Thomas Cotton and God's-gift Kirby entered Frankland's academy nearly at the same time, all being destined for the ministry. They were all there on the 29th of July, when Mr. Heywood met Mr. Kirby, Mr. Richardson, and Mr. Wright, a Nottinghamshire minister, who was nearly related to the family of Cotton, at Mr. Cotton's house at Denby, to spend part of the day in prayer in behalf of their five sons at Mr. Frankland's.—“ Oh how earnestly did God help our hearts !” They alluded in their prayers to the opposition which was made to Mr. Frankland, and Mr. Heywood recorded among his “ Returns of Prayer,” that he received intelligence soon after of the cessation of this opposition.

The other event is the marriage of the servant Martha Bairstow, July 3, which was kept as a solemn day. She had lived with him, he says, sixteen years, and had been exceedingly faithful, and careful of him and his, afflicted with him in all his afflictions, and sharing with him in all conditions. “ My heart was much affected in secret prayer ; but, in the family, affections ran out into passion in reading, Genesis xxiv, of Abraham's faithful servant and Rebecca parting from home.” Such glimpses of the manner of life of our forefathers are as pleasing as they are rare*.

* Mr. Heywood gives an account of an event which occurred at York about this time, in which the Duke of Buckingham was supposed to have more to do than appears in Mr. Heywood's narrative, circumstantial as it is. The story is in itself remarkable, and as it also illustrates the sentiments of Mr. Heywood respecting the deaths

of persecutors, I give it a place in these pages. It is hardly necessary to add that the house at York in which the Duke of Buckingham at this time resided, had been the Fairfaxes'; and that the descendants of Mr. Aislaby succeeded the Mallorys in the possession of the fine estate of Studley.

"Mr. George Aislaby, the register of the spiritual court at York, did challenge Mr. Jonathan Jennings to a single duel, by whom he was slain, on Jan. 10, 1675, being Lord's Day. The occasion was this: the Duke of Buckingham living at his own house at York hath several masks, plays, interludes, dancings, at which, a day or two before, was, amongst the rest, Sir John Mallory's daughter, living with Mr. Aislaby, whose wife was her own sister. They stayed at the masking very late at night. Mr. Aislaby and his family went to bed, left a man up to wait for his sister's coming home and open the gates. The man went to the duke's house to meet them, but missed them, for Mr. Jon. Jennings (Sir Edward Jennings' brother, of Ripon) had taken her into his coach. They coming to the gates in the man's absence, knocked, but got not admitted, whereupon Mr. Jennings takes her to his brother-in-law's, Dr. Watkinson's, house, where he lodged. The day after Mr. Aislaby and Mr. Jennings met together; had some words about it; were sharp; Mr. Jennings told him it was hard Sir John Mallory's daughter must wait at George Aislaby's gates and not be admitted. It ran so high, that Mr. Jennings told him he was the scum of the country. This stuck upon Mr. Aislaby's big spirit. Thereupon, after he had been to church in the forenoon, on Sabbath Day noon, Jan. 10, 1675, he sent a challenge to Mr. Jennings, charged the servant to deliver it to his own hands, but he, being at dinner, could not but give it to one of the servants. He inquired what answer he brought, who telling him 'None,' sent him again to him, commanding him to bring a positive answer. Having delivered the note, Mr. Jennings said, 'Go, tell your master I will wait upon him presently.' The place was called Pen-roes, without Boulen-bar [Bowtham-bar]. The sign was, the tolling of the bell to church. Mr. Jennings took a boy with him, as though he would walk, who directed him to that place, or near it, and sent him back, none suspecting the business. Mr. Aislaby kissed his wife when he went out. She said, 'Love, will you not go to church?' 'Yes,' said he, 'but not to the church you go to;' so went out. They met; Mr. Aislaby was come first; they fell to it with their swords; Mr. Jennings run him up the right arm; his body was untouched; so many veins being cut he bled excessively. Mr. Jennings led him back by the arm, then left him; went and told his servants to go and fetch their master; who made ready his coach; got him into it. The last words he was heard speak were, 'I had him once in my power;' so died. By that time he was got home, his wife, being Sir John Mallory's daughter, came to the coach, being big with the twelfth child, fell down in a swoond. He was searched by surgeons, who had no hurt upon his body, but arms. Mr. Jen-

nings was at Dr. Watkinson's; when he heard it was ready to tear the flesh off himself; when recovering, he got the duke's coach, went out of town; is gone straight to London, post, to beg his pardon. The occasion and beginning of this might be a comedy, but the end is a tragedy.—This George Aislaby was servant to one Turbot, register of the spiritual court in the former bishop's days, and when his master died he married his mistress, had by her 20,000*l.*, and having the books, &c., was put into the same office, since the bishop's government was restored, and hath made a wonderful improvement of it; for besides the place, which is worth 500*l.* per annum, he had much increased it by laying capiases for excommunicated persons through the country, giving some thirty or forty shillings for a capias, and if the bailiffs took the persons, made them pay five pounds, or six, or eight, or some ten pounds a-piece, or else go to prison. This hath been a gainful trade, doubling, yea trebling, his money in a year; so by these shifts he hath gotten 20000*l.* a-year, and left it all in an instant; being prodigal of his blood, could not bear an affront. It is confidently said that he was engaged in at least twelve duels formerly in Ireland, which he would not manage without the guilt of some blood, which God hath righteously returned upon his own head; by such a hand of their own party as God singled out. However, this violent persecution of God's people for conscience sake was a sin which God will seldom suffer to pass unrevenged. I have had suspensions, citations, excommunications, against myself, all under his hand. Lord, teach this generation something by it. Mr. Jennings took two men; went to the high sheriff; they were bound with him in 500*l.* a-piece for his appearance at the Assizes, and got his pardon from the king, and walked up and down York streets with confidence."

CHAPTER XIII.

1675—1682.

THE LICENSES WITHDRAWN.—MR. HEYWOOD CONTINUES TO PREACH AS USUAL.—SUCCEEDS TO SOME FAMILY PROPERTY.—DEATHS OF MR. COTTON; MR. BENTLEY; MR. BAYLEY.—BURIAL GROUND AT MORLEY.—WISH OF THE PEOPLE FOR HIS RETURN TO THE PUBLIC CHAPEL AT COLEY.—MR. KIRBY.—HIS SONS GO TO FINISH THEIR STUDIES AT EDINBURGH.—DEATHS OF HIS FATHER, SISTER, FATHER-IN-LAW AND BROTHER, IN ONE YEAR.—NOTICE OF MR. NATHANIEL HEYWOOD.—FURTHER ITINERANT LABOURS.—RISE OF THE BAPTIST CONGREGATIONS AROUND MR. HEYWOOD.—DEATH OF SIR JOHN ARMITAGE.—COMMENCEMENT OF A REGULAR SYSTEM OF ORDINATION IN THE WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE.—MINUTE ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST OF THESE SERVICES.—FURTHER PREACHING TOURS.—RECEIVES A VISIT FROM LORD RUTHERFORD.—CONNEXION BETWEEN THE SCOTCH AND ENGLISH PRESBYTERIANS.—THE LAMBERTS.—DEATH OF MR. HORTON.—MR. HEYWOOD TAKEN BEFORE MR. ENTWISTLE FOR PREACHING AT SHAW-CHAPEL.—MR. ELIEZER HEYWOOD BECOMES CHAPLAIN TO MR. TAYLOR OF WALLINGWELLS.—DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MR. HANCOCK AND MR. BLOOM.—DIFFERENCES IN MR. WHITEHURST'S CONGREGATION.—PUBLISHES HIS *LIFE IN GOD'S FAVOUR*.—EXCOMMUNICATED AGAIN.—VARIOUS ORDINATIONS.—MR. TIMOTHY JOLLIE.—MR. NOBLE.—MR. JOHN HEYWOOD.—THE DROUGHT OF 1681.—DEATH OF MR. MARSDEN.

1675.

IN the February of this year the king's Declaration for Indulgence was recalled, and things reverted to the state in which they were before March 15, 1672.

Of the circumstances under which Mr. Heywood received information of this important change, he gives the following account:—

“ Tuesday, February 9, 1675, being invited to preach at the new meeting-place at Leeds, I set from home. Had studied, as I conceived, a good sermon, and pleased myself in imagining what an auditory I should have the day after ; what content I should give to good people ; how seasonable the text and subject would be, being Revel. ii, 4, 5, of Losing first love, God removing Candlestick, there being danger of it. As I rode over Hardger Moor I checked and challenged myself for these proud conceits ; told the Lord how just he would be (and endeavoured to wean my mind to content) if he should prevent my preaching it, or send wicked men to disturb ; or shame me, by withdrawing from me. When I came as far as Morley, I met A. C., a friend, on the road, who showed me the king’s Order for recalling Licenses and suppressing meetings ; and when I came to Leeds we had a meeting at Mr. Stretton’s house, to consult about my preaching. Mr. Thoresby, Mr. Dickson, Mr. Hickson, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Iveson, Mr. Milner*, and others did all judge it expedient to forbear ; partly because it was an Order, and so in force as soon as published without proclamation ; partly because of the aldermen’s rage, being exasperated by the Non-Conformists’ conflict with them and conquest of them, but especially because they had told the mayor and aldermen that if the king called in the Licenses they would cease. So I forbore preaching in public, yet preached my sermon in private, at Mr. Stretton’s house, that night.”

He dismissed his own congregation at Northowram.

“ The most heart-melting day and work that ever I can remember was February 14, ’75, the Lord’s Day. The week before we received the king’s Order to call in his Licenses, and it was judged fit that we should cease as to that public way of preaching openly to all.

* These are names of families most of which continued to be of principal account among the burgery of Leeds for a century after this time ; but few of them remained Non-Conformists long after the accession of the house of Hanover.

I took my solemn farewell upon that Lord's Day, preaching on Revel. ii, 4, 5, of Removing the Candlestick, and in the close dismissed that meeting, gave my reasons, some advice to them. God caused abundant affections, floods of tears, such as I never had experience of in all my life in public ; promising my best assistance to them all in private. And oh that God would set the stamp of his grace and Spirit upon the world's affections ! Who knows what good may be done by that closing sermon ? However, these affections are a token for good, and pre-sage the Lord's gracious return."

Mr. Heywood gives a summary of his reasons for desisting to preach publicly :—“(1.) because he would comply with the will of the sovereign, that men may be convinced that they were of the ‘peaceable in the land,’ and to take off the imputation of sedition ; (2.) because Parliament was soon to meet, and at the last session were taking their case into consideration, and it was hoped, if they conducted themselves peaceably, something would be done for them by law ; (3.) the Licenses not being according to the established law of the land, but by the king's prerogative, it is by some feared they may prove of dangerous consequence, for if he may dispense with laws upon one account, he may also supersede them upon another ; (4.) several ministers elsewhere had given over this public way of preaching by Licenses, especially at Leeds, that had held up valiantly, and had bestowed four hundred pounds in building and preparing a meeting-place, besides Mr. Nesse's beyond the bridge ; (5.) some of his brethren who had been backward in preaching would have censured and condemned him as obstructing their liberty if he had continued his work, as they have been apt to do, and he would not give any offence ; (6.) because he would not trepan or ensnare people, but let them know upon what terms we are now, that they might not lay the blame on him if hereafter any fine be laid upon them, but that they might know the worst and count the cost ; (7.) my people, most of

them, and especially the most intelligent, advised to it, and judged it the most prudent course that could be taken, to withdraw into more retired meetings, and not be so public."

Some of these reasons are not devised in quite his usual spirit; and he soon found that he could not adhere to his determination. Frequent religious exercises in company with others, in which he led the devotions or delivered Christian instruction, were as necessary to him as his daily food. "Yet though I did give this notice, notwithstanding, we have enjoyed several days of considerable liberty in my meeting-place, pretty full of people, and began about eight o'clock, preached till twelve, twice. This day, being March 21, 1674-5, I began half an hour after eight; had done about one." Towards the end of the year he writes:—"Though I took my leave February 14, 1675, with much affection, many tears, yet God was pleased to remember us. I observed what others did, who generally kept on their work in meetings. I was troubled at my cessation. Within two days I fell to preaching again. Many flocked to ordinances. God graciously helped; there was no danger, not a dog moving his tongue against us. And thus we have continued in as full assemblies as formerly all the summer, and thus far of the winter, till this day, which is December 12, 1675, in which time many [public] ministers have been at Coley, but settled not. The best minister, a Scotchman, died, was buried December 9, '75*. Since which the heads of the chapelry of Coley have been consulting to give me a call to preach in public, and say things will not go right till I be brought to it again. What God will do in these

* Mr. Andrew Lowthian, introduced by Dr. Hooke on the disappearance of Mr. Bramley. He had been curate to the Dean of Durham at a country-living, where his stipend was six shillings a week, not "forty pounds a-year," but something less than sixteen. He came to Coley August 9, 1674, and died of a fever 6th of Dec., 1675. The parishioners of Coley placed a stone, with an inscription to his memory, at the place where he was interred in Halifax churchyard.

matters I know not." So that his four years ministrations as a licensed Separatist had not weakened his regard for the principle of a National Church.

Again:—"Though there are threatenings on all hands as to our liberty, and though 'tis said four hundred persons are summoned to appear at Pontefract Sessions, this week, upon an indictment founded on an Act in the 33rd of Elizabeth, for not coming to church, and though I had, in a sort, taken my leave of public work February 14, yet yesterday, being April 11, '75, and more days since, I did preach in my meeting-place; had four hundred hearers, muchwhat as great an assembly as formerly; enjoyed the Lord's Supper."

In this year Mr. Heywood came, very unexpectedly, into the possession, subject only to the life of his father, who was then near eighty years of age, of an estate at Little Lever, of the value of twenty pounds a-year. It came to him, in pursuance of family settlements, by the death of his great nephew, the only son of Richard the only son of John Heywood, his eldest brother, who died beyond sea.

In this year died Mr. William Cotton, one of Mr. Heywood's principal friends, at whose house he had kept many fasts and thanksgiving days. Mr. Cotton was a great iron-master, living in various places in the vicinity of Silkston and Peniston, but his posterity became settled on an estate called The Hague, in the parish of Darton, in the same neighbourhood, where they were Non-Conformists as long as the name continued. He was buried at Peniston on March 17, 1675. "We were eight Non-Conformist ministers at his funeral; great lamentation."

And in this year also died two neighbouring ministers; Mr. Eli Bentley of Halifax on August 2, and Mr. Bayley of Morley on the 5th of December. The last was an event which was a subject of very general lamentation, and a particular grief to Mr. Heywood. We have seen the terms in which he lately wrote of him. Mr.

Heywood was desired to preach at his funeral, and did so. It was fixed for Wednesday, December 8:—"I had to preach both Tuesday and Thursday;" on the Monday when he received the invitation,—“I was not satisfied what text to take any of those days. The places were distant, Bingley, Morley, Sowerby. I knew not how to dispatch all, for I was loth to disappoint any of these places.” He preached at all of them.

I have seen a fair copy of the sermon which he preached at Mr. Bayley's funeral, transcribed in his own hand for the use of Mrs. Mary Drake of Pontefract, who was Mr. Bayley's mother, and who lost her daughter, Mrs. Brooksbank*, very soon afterwards. We collect from it concerning Mr. Bayley, that he was one of the first persons educated for the ministry among the Non-Conformists after the Uniformity Act. He was “trained at the feet of a learned Gamaliel †, and, after a short trial of his spirit, gifts and conversation, he was unanimously chosen pastor to that goodly flock at Topcliffe, from which God had removed his servant but a little before ‡.” This was a Congregational or Independent church, but Mr. Heywood says that Mr. Bayley took the charge of it, though of Presbyterian sentiments, taking it in the Congregational manner, and waving, for a time, Presbyterian ordination. He continued the pastor for three years and a half, and died at the age of twenty-seven. Besides his pastoral duties at Topcliffe, he set up a monthly exercise at Morley, in which he invited neighbouring ministers to engage, of whom Mr. Heywood was one, giving them entertainment and encouragement, being rich and charitable. He was accounted the chief of the Congregational ministers in Yorkshire, and much advantage was

* The house of the Brooksbanks was at Elland, in the parish of Halifax, where they founded a dissenting chapel and a school.

† Here is probably an equivoque; and the intention of pointing out Mr. Gamaliel Marsden, who, after his ejection in the parish of Halifax, educated a few persons for the ministry.

‡ That is, Christopher Marshall, an ejected minister, who died in February, 1673.

hoped from his influence in healing the differences among dissenting brethren. "His person was amiable; his spirit moderate; his preaching profitable, and wonderfully taking, tender and piercing; his carriage affable and winning." The stone which covers his remains in the burial-ground at Morley still exists*.

1676.

Early in this year the impossible scheme for having Mr. Heywood return to his old station of curate of Coley was renewed, and some steps were taken to effect it:—"On Monday, being January 10, 1676, there was a meeting of the townsmen to pay Captain Lister Lord Halifax's chief rents; at which time Edward Slater had prepared a paper, and presented it to the inhabitants, expressing their desires that I might preach at the chapel. He desired such as were present to subscribe it, which they did very freely, namely, Nathan Crowther and several others. This is wonderful, and a beginning of return of prayer, whatever be the issue of it. They now

* In the inscription he is described as "Minister of the Gospel at Morley and Topcliffe," and, according to the custom which prevailed at Morley at the time, there are texts of Scripture engraven on the stone, which in this instance are Prov. xi. 30; Daniel xii. 3; and Revel. xiv. 13.—There are very few more interesting spots, to any one who takes delight in the antiquities of northern Non-Conformity, than the burial-ground about the chapel at Morley; itself an interesting edifice, being by far the oldest building in Yorkshire appropriated to Non-Conforming worship; being, in fact, the parochial chapel, which, suppressed, desecrated, or at least disused, was leased by the Saviles to Presbyterian trustees. The memorials remain of three of the ejected ministers, namely, Robert Pickering, who died in 1680; William Hawden, who died in 1699; and Joseph Dawson, who died in 1709. There are memorials of several of the Dawsons, descendants of Abraham before mentioned, the last of whom, Lady Loughborough, the first wife of Wedderburn, who was created Lord Loughborough, died in 1781. Here also lies Dorothy, daughter of Edmund Waller the poet, who died January 18, 1718, about the 60th year of her age. The present Mr. Norrisson Scatcherd of Morley, much to his honour, put in order many of these ancient grave-stones, raising several that had sunk into the earth.

profess they will either have me or none at the chapel ; if I must not preach, it shall be vacant. This is strange, all things considered, that they should thus own a poor, despised, persecuted minister, that is cast out as a vessel wherein is no pleasure." We see from this, that, as to himself, he was perfectly willing to become again a minister in the Church if he could only be allowed the license he required in respect of the services. In May, however, there was an end put to any such expectations, if any could be reasonably entertained, Mr. Hovy, a Northumberland man, who had been a year at Bramley, settling at the chapel at Coley, and continuing some years. He was a high Conformist*.

In April he took a journey into Westmoreland to Mr. Frankland's, where he had heard that his sons were not conducting themselves discreetly. He found things better than he expected †. On September 12 they left Mr. Frankland's, as did also God's-gift Kirby, whose father, Joshua Kirby of Wakefield ‡, died this year. They immediately proceeded to Edinburgh, "to take degrees."

* The state of the chapels in the parish of Halifax at this time is thus represented by Mr. Heywood:—

- “ 1. No lecturer at Halifax, Mr. Tenant being dead.
2. No minister at Sowerby since Mr. Bowker.
3. No preacher at Luddenden since Sutcliffe's turning out.
4. No preacher at Coley since Mr. Lowthian's death, Dec. 6, 1675.
5. No preacher at Lightcliffe since Christmas.
6. No preacher at Rastrick above a month.
7. No minister at Chapel-le-Breare almost a quarter.

All these places are vacant: it's said that Bairstow and Sutcliffe have listed themselves soldiers under Mr. Ramsden, to go for France, having spent all; run out of purse and credit; sad things are spoken of them." Mr. Heywood's position naturally inclined him to take rather a severe view of the conduct of the Conforming ministers around him; but when he states facts, he may be relied on.

† He alludes to some circumstance occurring about this time, in his book intitled 'The Best Entail':—"I have found that the miscarriage of my child, which is the greatest cross I ever met with, hath been blessed for the good of my soul." There is more to the same purpose.

‡ Dr. Calamy gives a good account of Mr. Kirby, who was a Master of Arts of the University of Oxford, and the first lecturer at

We have fewer notes of this than of any other year in the active period of Mr. Heywood's life; yet he was quite as much employed as ever; for, in the tabular synopsis which he formed year by year of his labours, it appears that, besides his Sunday services, he preached 67 week-day sermons; kept 56 fasts and 12 days of thanksgiving; and travelled 1052 miles. He received in this year for his services the sum of 78*l.* 2*s.* 11*d.*, of which 28*l.* 9*s.* 10*d.* was contributed by those whom he calls his own hearers. He says it is more than he had received in any one year before.

1677.

The distinguishing circumstance of this year is the deaths of many near relations of Mr. Heywood, occurring in quick succession.

The first who died was Mr. Richard Heywood, his father. Mr. Heywood visited him on the 22nd of February. He inquired of the old man the state of his soul, when he made this answer:—"It is now three-score and four or five years since God showed me my woeful condition by nature, and helpt my heart to lay hold on Christ; and though I have had many failings in the course of my life, yet I hope I can say that I never took my leave of Jesus Christ." Mr. Heywood returned home the next day; preached at home on the

Wakefield on the foundation of Lady Cambden, with an endowment of 100*l.* a-year. He was turned out of it by the Act of Uniformity, and afterwards imprisoned in the Castle of York, under the Conventicle Act. He died an excommunicate, and was interred in his own garden. His only son, God's-gift, died very early in life, but he had many daughters, of whose marriages and descendants a large and punctual account was prepared by Dr. Sutton of Leicester, a physician, who descended from one of them, about the year 1760. There were several of the Presbyterian ministers of the last century amongst them—Rayners, Wilsons, Suttons, Conders, together with the Busks and other persons, who have been supporters of the Dissenting interest and honours to the Dissenting name. Dr. Sutton collected at the same time the poems of Mr. Kirby, of which Dr. Calamy speaks.

Sunday; at John Butterworth's on Tuesday; at Idle chapel on Wednesday; came home on Thursday, when a messenger came to acquaint him with his father's death that morning, March 1. He returned with the messenger. The funeral was solemnized at Bolton on the Saturday, "according to the decent and orderly custom of the country, my brother meeting us at Bolton." Mr. Tildesley preached the funeral sermon, from 2 Tim. i, 12, and the day after Mr. Heywood preached at the chapel in Ainsworth*.

The next death was that of his youngest sister, Alice Bradley, who had married a yeoman in Ainsworth. She died on the 9th of May.

The next who died was Mr. Angier, Mr. Heywood's honoured father-in-law, who died on the 1st of September, and was interred with great solemnity in the public chapel at Denton, where he had been minister 46 years, having continued there undisturbed, notwithstanding all the severe laws to the penalties of which he was exposed. Mr. Heywood was not with him at the time of his death. He was sent for to visit him, and was on his way to Denton, when, at Rochdale, he met the messenger with intelligence of his death. He proceeded to Denton. Preached on the next day. On the 3rd was the funeral. Mr. Heywood wrote and printed a large account of Mr. Angier's life.

But a much severer stroke in this fatal year was the death of his brother, Mr. Nathaniel Heywood, the minister, who was ejected at Ormskirk, and with whom he had a most entire friendship through the whole of life. He died on the 16th of December, being only in his forty-fifth year. The tidings were received at Northowram on the 17th, when Mr. Heywood wrote thus in

* The following is a copy of the inscription on his gravestone:—
 "Here lyeth the body of Richard Heywood of Little Lever; who had followed the Lord sixty-four years in Christian profession and practice through various conditions: at last fell asleep, March 1, 1676-7, in the 81st year of his age. 'There the weary be at rest.'"

his diary:—"The sad tidings of my brother's death broke my heart; but God supported." He reached Ormskirk on the 19th. It was the day of the funeral, which appears to have been usually in those times the second day after the death. He was buried in an honourable grave, in the chancel of the church of Ormskirk, "in a burial-place which belongs to the ancient family of the Stanleys of Bickerstaff, with their free consent and design." Mr. Starkey preached; and Mr. Starkey and Mr. Heywood lodged together that night at Mrs. Ashhurst's, a family between whom and the Heywoods there was a close intimacy. He stayed the next day at Ormskirk at his sister's, counselling, comforting, conversing with them, and he preached in her chamber at night to a considerable company, on John xvii, 24. On the 21st they had a sad parting. His two sons were with him.

Mr. Nathaniel Heywood was as zealous in his irregular ministrations as his brother was; the field of his labours being the country round Ormskirk, but especially the towns of Wigan, Warrington, Liverpool, Preston and Eccleston. At all these places, except the last, Non-Conforming congregations arose, in part, at least, as the effect of his labours. When the king's Declaration came out, he licensed two meeting-places in the parish of Ormskirk, one at Bickerstaff, near the house of Sir Edward Stanley, who was his great friend, the other at Scarisbrick. He was once taken by a party of soldiers, while preaching in the chapel at Bickerstaff, when Lady Stanley, who was attending the service, came out of her gallery and placed herself near the pulpit door, hoping to overawe their spirits and obstruct their designs. And when he attended at the Sessions at Wigan, "old Lady Stanley came herself with her husband, Mr. Henry Hoghton, a justice of the peace, Mr. Christopher Banister of Bank, and several others, and spoke much in his behalf." So greatly was he esteemed by the gentry of the neighbourhood.

In the early part of the year he had paid a visit to his brother at Northowram:—"On Friday, April 20, God sent my dear and only brother, Nathaniel Heywood, with his wife and his sons, to my house. Oh what comfort it was to have these three couples of Heywoods to meet together, who are a rising generation, all very hopeful! My brother stayed with me above a week; preached two Lord's Days for me very affectionately, powerfully." These sermons were printed after Mr. Nathaniel Heywood's death, with a preface by his brother.

Mr. Heywood also wrote a particular account of his brother's life, which was printed in 1694, by Mr. Henry Ashhurst, who prefixed a dedication to Hugh Lord Willoughby of Parham, as being the life of a countryman of his, and of one for whom his lordship had a just esteem*.

* It is one of the best of the lives of the Non-Conforming ministers under the Act, of which there are about twenty, each in a small volume, beside the general account of them by Dr. Calamy. Mr. Nathaniel Heywood is said to have been, "according to his education a strict Presbyterian, avoiding both the extremes of Prelatical tyranny on the one hand, and Congregational democracy on the other." Mr. Ashhurst compliments Lord Willoughby on his "quality and noble extraction," but observes that there was something greater, "his exemplary piety and zeal for our holy religion in such a degenerate and licentious age, and the countenance he gave to serious piety wherever he found it among all the different parties into which we are so unhappily broken." Thus we see at every turn that the early Presbyterians would gladly have preserved the unity of the Protestant Church of England, if they could. As to Lord Willoughby, he was the twelfth lord, son of Thomas who succeeded to the title on the extinction of the eldest line of the family, by Eleanor his wife, daughter of Hugh Whittle of Horwich, in Lancashire. He married to his first wife a daughter of Laurence Halliday of Tockholes, in Lancashire, and to his second the widow of Sir William Egerton of Worsley, a son of the second Earl of Bridgewater. The brother of Hugh Lord Willoughby married Eleanor Rothwell of Hay, in Lancashire, a Puritan name, and one of his sisters married Samuel Greenhalgh of Adlington, in that county. This branch of the Willoughbys continued more or less connected with the Presbyterians of Lancashire till the extinction of it by the death, without issue, of another Hugh Lord Willoughby, who died in 1765. This nobleman was President of the Academical Institution which the Presbyterians of the north established at Warrington in 1758.

Of the two sons who were with him at Northowram, the eldest, who bore his father's name, went from thence to Mr. Frankland's at Natland to study for the ministry, Mr. Heywood's two sons accompanying him. He afterwards was the minister of the Non-Conformists at Ormskirk, and the common ancestor of numerous families of the name.

In the month of April Mr. Heywood's sons returned from Edinburgh, having completed their intended course of study there; an early instance of the English Presbyterians sending their sons to study in Scotland. Mr. Heywood received a testimony of their irreproachable lives. He relates, that at their laureation, when the oath of supremacy was tendered to them, they, with fifty-eight others, refused to take it, unless they might be allowed to put their own construction upon it. This was not allowed, and they lost their degrees in consequence. Mr. Heywood regarded this as an instance of " ' suffering for conscience sake,' extraordinary in youth, who are naturally eager for honour*." The 9th of May was kept as a day of thanksgiving for their safe return and happy success in their studies.

They soon began the exercise of their ministry in the same manner in which the father exercised his, were ordained by elder ministers, and continued Non-Conforming ministers till their deaths. The elder son preached with his father at Samuel Hopkinson's in Sowerby on July 26.

The diary recommences on July 23. My extracts will be short, and the comments few.

" July 29. I preached twice in Honley-chapel," which must be the public chapel at that place; " God assisted in a full assembly; lodged at night at Abraham Woodhead's at Thong." On the first of August he went into Craven, calling at Thornton on Mr. Hough, who after-

* Life of Rev. J. Heywood. *Works of O. Heywood*, 8vo, 1827, vol. i. p. 596. I find, however, both the sons of Mr. Heywood afterwards styled M.A.

wards succeeded Dr. Hooke in the vicarage of Halifax ; they lodged at Richard Mitchel's, a house between Skipton and Settle, at which the ministers who visited that country were always hospitably entertained. He preached at John Hey's, a near neighbour of Mr. Mitchel, and a man of the same hospitable spirit, to a considerable company, and afterwards administered the Lord's Supper : " God gloriously appeared in his ordinance for good." A day or two after this he went to Leeds, where he preached at Elkana Hickson's, to a full assembly, in private, but in the afternoon at the public meeting-place, where he had a great assembly. So that, though the Licenses were no longer in force, there were still occasional services in the place which the Non-Conformists had erected. There was a meeting on the next day at Mr. Matthew Boyse's, at which Mr. Heywood was present, to consult about Mr. Stretton's return from London, and continuance with them ; and he wrote a letter on the subject, which was signed by a number of persons of the congregation. He visited Mr. Milner, the vicar, who had succeeded Mr. Cooke, and discoursed with him. Again he preached at the new meeting-place, where was a great assembly. On the 10th, he met Mr. Jollie at Captain Hodgson's, who had now left Coley-hall and gone to reside at Cromwell-botham in another part of the parish, Mr. Jollie having come to preach there. On the 15th, he kept a solemn day of fasting and prayer at Mr. Dawson's. On the 16th, " had our young men's conference." There are frequent notices of this meeting, at which theological questions were propounded and discussed. On the 19th, he preached at the meeting-place at Alverthorpe. On the 23rd, he preached his lecture at Sowerby : the 24th, " our black Bartholomew day, was our preparatory day for Sacrament ; Mr. Dawson prayed." The 26th the Sacrament day ; " son Eli preached." On the 29th, he went again to Captain Hodgson's, " where we had a day of fasting and prayer for the Church." How little different this is from the state of things

while the king's Licenses were in force ! The law seems to have been a mere cypher in the estimation of Mr. Heywood and those about him, and in the estimation also of those whose province it was to administer it. He was, in fact, preaching publicly every Sunday, beside his week-day services. This was in direct contravention both of the Conventicle Act and the Five Mile Act.

Sept. 25, he was at York with his two sons ; they lodged at Mr. John Priestley's : on the 26th, attended a conference at Mr. Ward's about God's Immutability ; and on the 27th, dined at Sir John Hewley's. In the afternoon heard Mr. Williams at Lady Watson's, who preached very profitably. On the 28th, dined at the house of a relation, whom he calls " Aunt Darcy," and rode in the afternoon to Mr. Hutton's at Poppleton. On the 29th, returned to York and visited Mr. Coulton, Lady Hewet, and others, lodging at Sir John Hewley's. On the 30th, being Sunday, he preached for Mr. Ward, at his meeting-place : " God graciously assisted ; it was a very numerous assembly ; blessed be God for that liberty." On the Monday they left York.

Oct. 8. " I had Richard Pits and Isaac Taylor, Anabaptists, come to discourse with me about Samuel Hardger's admission with them."

This shows that the Anabaptists, or Baptists, as about this time they began rather to be called, had in 1677 acquired a distinct ecclesiastical character in Yorkshire. They sprang from the persons whom Mr. Heywood calls Antinomians, and their history is a subject entirely distinct from that of the religious community to which Mr. Heywood belonged, though they are so far united that both may be classed in the early periods of their history under the common head of Puritan. The origin of this variety of Dissent is to be traced, as respects Yorkshire and Lancashire, to the township of Heptonstall, in the wildest part of the parish of Halifax, lying on the borders of the Lancashire parish of Whalley, a part of his parish which Mr. Heywood rarely, if ever,

visited. There Richard Coore had been the minister, and after him Mr. Aiglin, who was followed by Mr. Daniel Towne, all of whom were in the extreme of Calvinism. Among the people who formed the body of parishioners of Heptonstall, were two persons, named William Mitchell and David Crossley, near relations. Mitchell was of an exceedingly religious turn of mind, and was accustomed to attend the secret ministrations of the Non-Conformists, and at an early period of life became a zealous preacher of Antinomianism, having left his native parish and settled at Hunslet near Leeds. There he preached in the time of the Indulgence; but about the time of which we are speaking, when he was twenty-three years old, he commenced a system of itinerant preaching, insisting principally on Free Grace; and though a man rude of speech and of unpolished manners, he had large assemblies of hearers, who were not the fewer in consequence of the attempts to silence him by bringing the provisions of the Conventicle Act to bear upon him. He was for some time in the castle of York. His relative, David Crossley, afterwards united with him; Mitchell died in 1705, and Crossley became the pastor of an Antinomian congregation in London. But before the death of Mitchell they had established about twenty small societies, who had introduced into their discipline baptism of persons of age to answer for themselves as necessary to the completeness of a Christian profession. The principal scene of the labours of these two lay-preachers was the mountainous country between Yorkshire and Lancashire, their principal establishment being at a place called Bacup in one of the valleys of that mountainous region, called Rossendale, where the chapel was founded in 1691, as soon as the Toleration Act allowed of such foundations. It must have been some society collected by Mitchell to which one of Mr. Heywood's congregation was desirous to join himself; and to the labours of these persons are to be traced the several societies of Baptists which sprang up in

the parish of Halifax and other parts of the counties of York and Lancaster.

Little change seems to have taken place during the period for which the diary is lost, among his friends in the direction of Wakefield, for we find him visiting John Armitage at Lidget, Mr. Lockwood of Blackhouse, then in great distress for the loss of the heir, Mr. Richardson at Lassel-hall, Mr. Thorpe at Hopton, and Mr. Josiah Oates at Chickenley; also at Alverthorpe, where he preached, we find Mr. Kirk and Mr. Dyneley. He visited Mr. Josiah Holdsworth, who had been ejected at Poppleton, an old man then dying, at Mrs. Kirby's. We find him preaching also at Morley.

In this year he paid seven pounds for a copy of Pool's *Synopsis Criticorum*.

In this year also he notices the death of one of the early opponents of the Non-Conforming ministry, Sir John Armitage, on the 3rd of March. He and Mr. Peebles of Dewsbury, with some other persons, were drinking at Nunbrook on a Saturday night. Returning home that night, or on Sunday morning, he fell from his horse. His man replaced him. "A second time he fell, just by Robin Hood's grave; his man lifted in vain, cast his cloak over him, went back to Nunbrook for help, but found him dead, his neck being broken. The coroner palliates the business; calls it apoplexy. He was buried at Hardger church, April 9, 1677. Dr. Samuel Drake, of Pontefract, preached the funeral sermon. He had been wonderfully violent in the business of the plot thirteen years ago. A most pompous funeral: his horse led before with gold trappings; the corpse carried in a chariot, attended with six knights. Fifteen gold rings given. Fifty pounds within nine shillings disbursed to the poor at sixpence a-piece; forty-five tailors employed several days in making mourning: the funeral cost 600*l*."

1678.

This year was spent in the same manner as the last, but it is memorable as being the year in which the Presbyterian ministers of the West Riding of Yorkshire first resumed the practice of ordination. Of the services of this kind in which Mr. Heywood was engaged, he has left a large and instructive account, to which he has prefixed the following preface:—"Ancient ministers, according to the course of nature, dropping off and dying, and some young scholars being trained up in learning, and giving good proofs of their public usefulness in future times for the service of the Church, we thought it our duty, according to our principles, to set some young men apart by examining them according to the rules in the Assembly's Directory, fasting and prayer and imposition of hands, that there may be a provision made for a succession in after times in the ministerial work; and God hath much assisted us in the work, and given us great encouragement that he hath owned our honest endeavours therein."

Of this first ordination in Yorkshire I shall give a particular account from his manuscript.

The design originated with Mr. Frankland. On the 17th of May, he, his wife and son came to visit Mr. Heywood at Northowram, to whom he opened the business. The person whom Mr. Frankland had more particularly in view was Mr. John Issot, who was one of his earliest pupils, and having completed his education was then assisting Mr. Frankland both in preaching and teaching. He lived in Mr. Frankland's house, and is described by Mr. Heywood as an "able, serious young man." Mr. Heywood consented, and promised to engage Mr. Dawson to assist, Mr. Frankland engaging to procure the assistance of Mr. Anthony Sleigh, an ejected minister in Northumberland. The time fixed was July 8.

The intention of holding this ordination being divulged, two other Non-Conforming ministers who had

been long engaged in the ministry, even from before the passing of the Act of Uniformity, but who had never been ordained, applied to Mr. Heywood to be received to ordination. These were, Mr. Darnton, who was ejected at Tanfield, and who had continued preaching as a Non-Conformist in the neighbourhood of Ripon, and Mr. Richard Thorpe of Hopton, whose name has so often occurred. Mr. Heywood communicated their desire to Mr. Frankland, who readily consented, and he also wrote to Mr. Thomas Jollie of Altham to request his assistance, "knowing his principles to be for it, though inclining to the Congregational way." These are Mr. Heywood's own words. The place was Richard Mitchel's house in Craven.

On the day appointed, Mr. Heywood, accompanied by Mr. Dawson and Mr. Thorpe, proceeded to the place, where they met Mr. Frankland, who brought with him Mr. Issot. Mr. Darnton also came, but neither Mr. Sleigh nor Mr. Jollie. Illness was alleged as the reason of Mr. Sleigh's absence; but Mr. Jollie assigned as the reason, that "he had no acquaintance with the persons to be ordained, otherwise he would have come;" and he added, that he was "heartily troubled that he missed such an opportunity of seeing such friends, of serving the interest of the Gospel, and giving a proof what his principles were in those matters." These disappointments had, however, nearly frustrated the design; for when Mr. Thorpe found that there were no more than three ministers to perform the service, he began to waver, and had even determined at once to return home. Mr. Heywood reasoned with him, and Mr. Frankland urged Acts xiii, 1, 2, 3, to prove that there were only three engaged in that apostolical ordination, and two ordained. He was at last satisfied, and stayed.

On the next day Mr. Heywood and Mr. Thorpe preached at the house of John Hey to a full assembly, and Mr. Heywood administered the Lord's Supper to about thirty persons. They then began the examination

of the candidates, which was chiefly conducted by Mr. Frankland. The examinations were inquiries into the extent of their knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, and of authors in philosophy and divinity. Mr. Heywood says of Mr. Thorpe, that he “adhered to Mr. Baxter in some points of faith, justification, which Mr. Frankland disowned, which occasioned a short amicable dispute.” This occupied the remainder of the second day.

On the third day they began at eight in the morning, Mr. Frankland beginning with prayer. The certificates of the candidates were then examined. Then Mr. Thorpe positioned on the thesis *Datur Divina Providentia*, delivering a learned discourse in Latin. Mr. Heywood and Mr. Dawson opposed him in a short discourse syllogistically. Then Mr. Issot positioned *Quod Ordinatio per manuum impositionem per seniores (vulgò vocatos laicos) non est valida*. “It was an excellent discourse, very large and cogent, yet we made our objections.” Then Mr. Darnton, whose thesis was *Non datur omnibus Gratia sufficiens*. “He begged leave to deliver himself in English, which was permitted for the benefit of such as were present, and did pretty well, though some of us were not so satisfied in his abilities; yet having testimonials of his pious conversation, Mr. Frankland having known him formerly in Northumberland, he producing testimonials of approbation granted in 1658 by the commissioners for trial of ministers in those parts, and confessing his fault and defect in having preached twenty years without ordination, and further assuring them that he had never baptized a child and had been always seeking ordination, they consented to regard him as duly qualified.” Then Mr. Dawson prayed. The candidates were next required to make a confession of their faith, which they did largely and distinctly; Mr. Issot, in particular, was “exceeding ample and exact.” The next step was to inquire of them singly their persuasion of the truth of the Reformed religion, their design in taking

upon themselves the office of the Christian minister, their diligence in praying, reading, &c., zeal and faithfulness in maintaining the truth, care of their flocks, families, willingness to submit to the admonitions of their brethren, and resolution to continue in their duties against all trouble and persecution. The three ministers then proceeded to the imposition of hands; but a question arose among them, whether this should be done singly or conjointly. The mode was this: Mr. Issot kneeled down before them; Mr. Frankland prayed, and when he came to the words "whom we set apart or appoint," he having laid on his hands, the other two ministers did the same, and kept them on till Mr. Frankland ceased praying. In the same manner they proceeded with the other two, Mr. Heywood praying over Mr. Darnton, and Mr. Dawson over Mr. Thorpe. This ended, the three elder ministers gave them the right hand of fellowship, owning them as their brethren in Christ's work. The whole company then sat down. Mr. Heywood then took a text, which was Matthew ix. 38, on which he preached, insisting most on the word "labourers," opening the laboriousness of the ministerial calling, and pressing it home upon the young ministers in particular. He then went to prayers, "wherein," he says, "God did wonderfully draw out his heart with exceeding meltings for these brethren, for Mr. Frankland and his scholars, for the church; God helped them all to join, and gave some remarkable evidences of his presence. Then we sang part of the 132nd Psalm; and so I dismissed the assembly with pronouncing the valedictory benediction."

In this orderly, decent, and solemn manner did the Yorkshire Presbyterian ministers begin in admitting new persons into the ministry. There were present (for I think no circumstance, however trifling, ought to be omitted in the relation of a work so memorable in the history of Presbyterian Non-Conformity), John Beck, a friend of Mr. Frankland's, who accompanied him from West-

moreland ; several of Mr. Frankland's scholars, as Nathaniel Heywood, Mr. Heywood's nephew, and Timothy Halliday, who was afterwards connected with Dr. Williams in the congregation at Dublin ; several who had been scholars under Mr. Frankland, as John Heywood, God's-gift Kirby, Thomas Cotton, and Christopher Richardson. Mr. Issot's father was also present. Also several of the Craven Presbyterians, as Richard Mitchel and his wife, John Hey and his wife, Thomas Hey, John Wilkinson, and Mrs. Lambert. Fourteen or fifteen of the party were received into the houses of Mr. Mitchel and Mr. Hey. " In the morning we all met again, and took our solemn and loving farewell of one another."

Mr. Heywood adds, " Blessed be God for this fruitful blossoming of Aaron's rod, and the strong branches and sweet flowers issuing thence, that are likely to prove pillars and ornaments to the house of God. What a lovely sight was it to see so many hopeful plants, and some willingly offering themselves in this despised way, in such an opposing day as this is ! Oh ! that the blessing of Elijah might be upon Elisha ! There is hope the vacant rooms of God's deceased servants may be filled up. Lord, take thou the glory, and let the Church have profit of their successors' labours."

There is little beside that is remarkable in the ministerial life of Mr. Heywood in the year 1678. He pursued his course unmolested, preaching when and where and how he pleased, even occasionally in the public chapels, when he had the consent of the minister or people. Yet a few extracts from his diary may be added :—

" On new-year's day I rode to Idle, preached there in the chapel, had a numerous audience ; lodged at Thomas Ledgard's. Jan. 9, at Leeds ; heard part of Mr. Sharp's lecture ; dined with Mr. Thomas Wilson, and preached that night at James Nettleton's." On the next day he visited Mr. Whitaker, who had succeeded Mr. Nesse. Jan. 15, preached at John Butterworth's at

Warley. Jan. 23. "I writ part of a letter in answer to J. Firth, turned papist, in London." Jan. 24, preached his lecture at Sowerby; on the 30th he went to Halifax to the funeral of Mr. Thomas Lister of Shipden-hall, where he says he heard "Dr. Hooke's commendation of him, and censure of us."

Feb. 1: "I had several visitors, some with cases of conscience; some strange passages heard." This is hardly distinguishable from the confession of the Roman Church. Feb. 2, on his way to Wakefield lodged at Mr. Josiah Oates' at Chickenley, preached the next day at Alverthorpe, and lodged at Mr. Dyneley's. Feb. 28, he and Mr. Root preached at Mr. Cotton's to a full assembly. March 26, he preached at Joshua Walker's at Rushworth-hall in Bingley. In April he went into Lancashire, visiting the houses at which we find him to have been formerly entertained. He went to Ormskirk, had a solemn day of fasting and prayer at his sister's house, when Mr. Starkey prayed, and he preached. The next day he accompanied his sister and her brother to Liverpool, where her younger son, Richard Heywood, was placed with Mr. Percival, a merchant*. He preached twice at Toxteth-park chapel. While in the neighbourhood he visited Mr. Briscoe, Mr. Crompton, Mr. Litherland, and Mr. Atherton. On the 17th he preached a funeral sermon for his brother at that which had been his father's house, when a multitude of people were present.

In the same month he visited Lady Rodes at Houghton, Mr. Wordsworth at Swathe-hall, Mr. Cotes at Wath, and Mr. Gill at Car-house. Mr. Gill accompanied him to Mr. Staniforth's of Firbeck, in a singularly beautiful part of the country near the ruins of Roche

* This Richard settled at Drogheda, where he was very prosperous, and, having no children, took his nephew, Benjamin Heywood (son of his elder brother Nathaniel, the minister), to reside with him, whose three sons, Arthur, Benjamin, and Nathaniel, returning to England, became each the ancestor of families of the name still existing.

Abbey ; and the next day, being Sunday, he preached in Firbeck Church, where, though the congregation was small, he had for his hearers Sir Ralph Knight, Mr. Hatfield of Laughton, and Major Taylor. Sir Ralph Knight and Major Taylor were old Parliamentary officers who had settled themselves on the borders of the wide parish of Laughton, the former at Langold, and the latter at Walling-wells. On his return he was present at a solemn day at Mr. Cotes', on account of his wife, who was "melancholy," where Mr. Milner* and Mr. Johnson prayed, and he and Mr. Cotes preached : many persons were present.

On May 17 : "I stayed at home ; God assisted in the morning ; forenoon married a couple." This is the only instance in which he speaks of performing this ceremony when a Non-Conformist.

May 22. "Mr. Sagar of Blackburn visited me. My father Angier's books came." June 20, he was in Lancashire, and kept a fast at Hulme-hall "with aunt Moseley." There were present Mr. Tildesley, Mr. Newcome, Mr. Eaton, Mr. Finch, Mr. Scoles, and Mr. Richardson, all ministers. Here he preached, and again at Mr. Newcome's, where he had a very great auditory.

July 18, he received a visit at Northowram from a Scotch nobleman, Lord Rutherford †, with whom and Jonathan Priestley he spent most of the afternoon. In this month he visited the Cottons, Riches, Wordsworths, and others about Peniston ; preached at Thomas Leach's

* Mr. Milner was ejected at Rothwell, and at this time was the chaplain to Lady Rodes.

† Lord Rutherford was again with him on the 4th of September, and on the 23rd Mr. and Mrs. Heywood dined with him at Halifax. There existed at this time, and long afterwards, a community of feeling between the Scotch and English Presbyterians. There are two or three instances of the engrafting heiresses of English Presbyterian families into the families of the Scotch nobility. Many of the accessions made to the English Presbyterian congregations in the first half of the last century were by the settlement in England of Scotch families, till in time the doctrinal changes in the English Presbyterians outran those of their brethren in Scotland.

at Riddlesden-hall, when he baptized his son David. On August 1, he remarks, "at 5 o'clock God returned to my heart after his long withdrawals, in secret prayer." August 19, "I went into Boulin to bring Mrs. Lambert* upon her way towards Leeds." On August 29, he and Mr. Hancock preached at Mr. Riche's at Bull-house to

* Mrs. Lambert, who it will be remembered was present at the ordination in Craven, was the wife of the son of Major-General Lambert, then a prisoner, as he remained for the rest of his life. She was a daughter of the family of Lister of Arnoldsbiggen. Dr. Whitaker tells a not very credible story of a stolen match made by her with Charles Nowel of Merely: they were married, he says, in a covered walk lately remaining at Arnoldsbiggen, and immediately separated; nor did they ever meet after, for he was drowned in returning home with the license for the marriage in his pocket. She then married Mr. Lambert of Calton. Mr. Heywood has an authentic and valuable notice of this Mr. Lambert:—"Mr. John Lambert, son to General Lambert, came into Craven; much addicted to pleasure, which his wife was against; seized with palsy, January '76, about which time his mother died in Plymouth Castle. His father sent him a plain convincing letter against his extravagance. His wife had got Mr. Frankland to preach in Craven; he was against it, but changed." He invited Mr. Heywood to preach, showed him his pictures, he being an "exact limner." He was beyond all the gentry for bowling, shooting, &c.; an excellent scholar, a man of much reading, great memory, admirable parts. His only son died the same year. Dr. Whitaker says, that while he went to the church at Kirkby Malham-dale, his wife walked every Sunday to the Dissenting chapel at Winterburn, which arose out of the meeting at John Hey's.

Mr. Lambert was buried on March 18, 1701-2, aged sixty-three, leaving a daughter and heir, who married Sir John Middleton of Belsay Castle in Northumberland, baronet, the son of Sir William Middleton, to whom Nathaniel Baxter, one of the ejected ministers, was for some time chaplain. In 1715 there was a Dissenting congregation of three hundred persons at Belsay, of which Cumberbach Leech, who was educated in Mr. Frankland's academy, was then the minister.

We may trace a spirit of Puritanism early in the family of Lambert. The name of the General's father was *Josias*, and we find the family using the names of Joseph, Benjamin, Reuben, Joshua, and Dinah. The General was the issue of a third marriage, born when his father was sixty-five, and when two sisters had been long married under the notion of being the heiresses of Calton.

Walpole says that both the General and his son were artists.

a full assembly. September 12, he kept a solemn fast at Mary Burkhead's in Birstall parish with Mr. Dawson and Mr. Holdsworth.

September 13, he rode to Mr. Whitehurst's house near Clayton, and discoursed with him, John Foster, and John Jowet, about their differences.

December 2, "I went to Chickenley, where Mr. Root, Mr. Josiah Holdsworth and I were to spend a day in prayer with one Francis Brown, a melancholy man. Mr. Root failing, God helped us two in prayer wonderfully, and in speaking to him. I lodged with Mr. Josiah Oates."

In the course of this year Mr. Heywood had the satisfaction of seeing both his sons enter upon the regular exercise of their ministry. The eldest was engaged for a few months in a school at Kirk-Heton; but in September he went into Craven, where he preached to the little knot of Puritan families about Richard Mitchel's and John Hey's. In the same month the younger son went to be chaplain to Major Taylor at Walling-wells, with whom an acquaintance had begun when Mr. Heywood preached at Firbeck.

In this year he received of his regular hearers 34*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*, and in legacies and gifts from other persons, about the same sum.

1679.

This year resembled the last.

"Saturday, January 4, rode towards Alverthorpe; lodged at Mr. Josiah Oates at Chickenley: 5, rode to Alverthorpe; preached, God graciously helped; the bad news of Parliament's proroguing did quicken prayer with enlargement; blessed be God. I returned to Chickenley." February 26, preached for three hours to a great congregation in Idle chapel. April 10, "I went to Sowerby to the funeral of Mr. Joshua Horton, where Dr. Hooke preached on Joshua xxiii. 14. God helped

me both in the morning and at night to plead for a succession of his children in his room."

On April 13 he preached at Shaw chapel in Lancashire to a numerous assembly. Here he was not allowed to proceed without molestation; for in the evening he was arrested by Thomas Baskerville, the high constable, and taken before Mr. Entwisle, a neighbouring magistrate, who treated him roughly. The next day Mr. Entwisle took sureties for his appearance at Manchester at the next Quarter Sessions, when he was set at liberty. On the 9th of May he appeared at the Sessions, "was called, came off clear, God wonderfully working in his providence for me." He spent the evening at the house of his brother-in-law, Mr. Hulton, with Mr. Tildesley and Dr. Cart*.

April 21, he was at the funeral of Mr. Sale at Calverley. This was another of the ministers who had been ejected.

April 22, he set out on a journey among his friends in the south of the West Riding,—Mr. Thorpe of Hopton, Mr. Cotton of Denby, Mr. Benton of Barnsley, a minister ejected from Thurnscoe, who betook himself to trade, Mr. Wordsworth of Swathe, Mr. Gill of Carhouse, Mr. Hatfield of Laughton, and Mr. Staniforth of Firbeck. At this last-named house there was a solemn fast on April 25, when there were many people, and Mr. Porter, an ejected minister then residing at Mansfield, and Mr. Heywood carried on the work for about six hours. In the evening he rode to Mr. Taylor's, calling at Sir Ralph Knight's by the way. On the next day he returned to Mr. Staniforth's, and on the day following, being Sunday, he preached again in the church at Firbeck to a pretty large congregation. On Monday he returned to Walling-wells. On Tuesday he went to Mr. Hatfield's at Laughton, where he stayed to the even-

* Dr. Cart was a physician at Manchester, a son of Mr. Cart who had been ejected at Hansworth.

ing of the next day, having "full discourse with that ingenious gentleman," and then returned to Wallingwells, the object of the journey having been to visit Major Taylor, who had however died the 29th of March preceding*. On May 1 he went to visit Mr. Jessop, a justice of the peace, living at Scofton with his "good aunt, Mrs. South †." Mr. Heywood made a longer stay at Wallingwells than usual. One of the days was a Sunday, when he preached at the hall, where a considerable company was assembled. He left Wallingwells on the 5th. On his return he visited Mrs. Clayton at

* Major Samuel Taylor is said by Mr. Heywood to have had an estate of 5000*l.* a-year. He was one of the Presbyterians who hailed with joy the return of the king. He then lived at Oldcotes, and his wife was accidentally killed by the discharge of a gun by a servant in the course of the rejoicings there on that occasion. He was sent by Charles II. to fortify Tangier, and during his absence his son and heir was placed under the care of Mr. Cart of Hansworth. The son who succeeded him was member for Retford, and sheriff of Nottinghamshire. He inherited the principles of his father, and kept up in his family the religious habits of the earlier times, Mr. Eliezer Heywood living with him for twenty years as his chaplain. He married one of the many daughters of his neighbour, Sir Ralph Knight of Langold, and at his death in 1699 left an only daughter, who was then lately married to Thomas White, Esq., of Tuxford, who came to reside at Wallingwells. Mr. White was member for Retford and the father of John White, who also represented Retford, and of Taylor White, an eminent Whig lawyer. The grandson of Taylor White was created a baronet in 1802.

† This was Francis Jessop, Esq., an early member of the Royal Society, and a cultivator of natural and abstract science. His chief residence was at Broom-hall in the parish of Sheffield. His aunt, Mrs. South, and his mother, were early friends of Mr. Bagshaw, the ejected minister in the Peak, who dedicated to them one of his tracts. Mr. Jessop was a friend of the family of Mr. Fisher, the ejected vicar of Sheffield, and endeavoured on one occasion to protect Mr. Bloom, another of the Sheffield ejected ministers, when he was called before the justices at the Sessions at Rotherham. As Mr. Heywood relates the story, there was on this occasion very rude behaviour,—Sir John Reresby having given Mr. Jessop a wound on the cheek by a lead-standish, which he threw at him, and was only prevented from attacking him with his rapier by Mr. Jessop's son, then a stripling of fifteen. The youth became a distinguished lawyer and member of Parliament, and had an only son who was Lord Darcy of Navan.

Rotherham, Mr. Gill, and Lady Rodes at Houghton, where he conversed “with that sweet ingenious family.”

May 26, he visited Mr. John Nettleton at Dewsbury, and on the 27th preached at the house of John Robinson in Deanhead, where he had never been before. June 6, Mr. Jollie, Mr. Dawson, and he kept a solemn fast at Mr. Dawson’s on the public account of the nation. On June 27 he was again at Walling-wells, where Mr. Billingsley, a Nottinghamshire minister, and he kept a solemn day of fasting, preaching, and praying; “we held together about seven hours.” On his return he visited Mr. Bloom at Attercliffe, and the next day Mr. Prime at Sheffield, and the succeeding day Mr. Hancock at Shiercliffe-hall. These had been the three assistant-ministers of the church of Sheffield, who were all, with the vicar, removed from their places by the Act of Uniformity. Mr. Bloom and Mr. Hancock had collected a church of which they were the joint ministers*; but in a short time differences arose between them, and they separated. It was the object of this visit of Mr. Heywood to compose these differences, and under July 2 he says, “having discoursed Mr. Hancock about the breach, I sent for Mr. Bloom; had them together: we spent that forenoon in loving disputes; at last it pleased God to compose the difference which had long continued: blessed be God! after that Mr. Hancock and I rode to Mr. Wordsworth’s of Swathe-hall.” On the next day he went to Houghton, where he prayed and preached four or five hours to a full assembly. On July 15, “writ

* Of the formation of this Dissenting society in 1676 a very particular account is given from a contemporary manuscript in my History of Hallamshire, fol. 1819, pp. 161—163. The difference which arose between the two ministers was a subject of great concern among the Non-Conformists of South Yorkshire. It probably was occasioned by the want of settled principles of church order, and of authority vested in some independent party to enforce them. But the union of ministers in the charge of the same congregation has not unfrequently been thus unfortunate.

something of special moment about an agreement betwixt Mr. Hancock and Mr. Bloom."

On the 20th he preached at Alverthorpe in the meeting-place. "The officers sent word they would come about three o'clock; we began sooner; dispatched all before; but they came not."

On the 1st of August he set out on a visit to Mr. Frankland in Westmoreland. While there he "preached to Mr. Frankland's people in a very full assembly in a great vast hall belonging to Mr. Bellingham, farmed by Henry Strickland; a very numerous assembly."

On the 6th he was engaged in composing another church difference. "I came to the appointed meeting at Mr. Whitehurst's, where Mr. Jollie, Mr. Marsden, Mr. Ashley of Hull, Mr. Whitaker, Mr. Holdsworth, and I, with many others, met to compose the difference." Concerning this affair there are other notices, which deserve transcription, as showing the state of the Non-Conforming body at the beginning of the separation:—"Mr. Richard Whitehurst of 'Lighten-in-the-morning' (Laughton-en-le-Morthen), called to a church gathered at Allerton and Horton; much applauded, till he began to preach the Fifth Monarchy, which disgusted them. John Hall, Joseph Lister*, and George Ward (principal members, yea officers, yea preachers themselves in the

* This Joseph Lister left an account of his own life, a piece of autobiography of some interest, which was printed by Mr. Thomas Wright at Wakefield in a small tract about 1790. He was the father of David Lister and Accepted Lister, two ministers, of whom David died when he had preached but three times. He thus speaks of Mr. Whitehurst:—"My wife and I were admitted into the church at Kipping, with which we walked satisfyingly many years. The church called one Mr. Whitehurst to be pastor to them, and he gave content some years; yet he proved at last so wedded to the doctrine of the kingdom of Christ, as he called it, together with other notions, from which he could not be got, that it made a breach in the church: some of his hearers left him, and others walked with him till new matter of dissatisfaction broke out, and then they also left him to provide for himself. He then went to Burlington, and died. After he was gone, the church at Kipping was again united and walked sweetly together, but could not get a pastor."

assembly as 'gifted brethren' in their pastor's absence, yea presence, and maintained that work before they had one), these three have withdrawn themselves from communion, will not visit one another, though Mr. Whitehurst lives under the same roof with John Hall; but he spends so much time about Christ's personal reign that should be upon more profitable subjects." Again: "I told them, this was the fruit of giving leave to private men exercising their gifts publicly, which they have long practised, and gave some instances of the sad consequences of it, and wished Christians' way of exercising gifts were duly stated and stinted according to Scripture rule. 'Tis true they look on me as a Presbyterian and profess themselves Independents, yet seem to be willing to refer their matter to Mr. Sharp and me, and two of their own."

On September 14 he went to York to the election of members of Parliament. He set out from Alverthorpe, Mr. John Kirk and Mr. Joseph Scot accompanying him. Lord Clifford and Lord Fairfax were opposed by Sir John Kaye. He lodged at Sir John Hewley's. On the 16th he says, "they shouted and polled, but I preached at Lady Watson's in forenoon; afternoon visited some friends, and was at the young men's disputation at Mr. Ward's, *An Episcopatus diocesanus sit licitus?* Spent the evening with Lady Hewet." On the 17th he dined with Lord Clifford, Sir Gilbert Gerard, Sir John Brook, and others at Sir John Hewley's. On the 18th he preached in Sir John Hewley's chamber, and returned home.

October 23, "I preached at John Hey's to a full assembly; God wonderfully helpt in prayer; such tears, groans, that sometimes my voice was scarce heard for the noise of people's cries; I have seldom heard the like; a good sign."

November 8, "I came to Richard Hargreaves'; dined with Dr. Whitaker and others; discoursed some sad cases of difference amongst God's people." Here is

another occasion on which to remark, that the Non-Conformists began thus early to find the inconvenience of the want of a superincumbent power keeping order among ministers, and keeping ministers and people in their right places. They were not yet clear of the difficulties about Mr. Whitehurst. December 19, "I rode to Mr. Whitehurst's upon a call, where was a meeting of him and the Dissenters; many tough arguings they had, but no accommodation likely; Lord, humble us for that heavy breach."

On the whole it appears that, during this year, his most frequent places of preaching were his own house at Northowram, Warley, Sowerby, Lidget, Alverthorpe, Morley, and at John Hey's in Craven.

In this year he published his volume entitled 'Life in God's Favour,' which is a very long sermon on Psalm xxx. 5.

1680.

The diary extends only to May 7, and there is nothing in what occurs in that part of the present year of importance. There is a period of two years from that date in which there is no diary remaining.

Two events in this year are all that require to be noticed.

First, his excommunication.—I find nothing of this in his remaining manuscripts, but in Dr. Calamy's Life of him we are told that "upon August 15, 1680, he was cited into the Consistory Court at York, together with his wife and several of his neighbours, for not going to the Sacrament in the parish church at Halifax. For contempt in not appearing they were all excommunicated, and the excommunications were read in Halifax church on October 24 following; but keeping private, the storm soon blew over."

Next, an ordination.—Pending these proceedings, he was concerned in an ordination which was held at the same place as the one before described at large, namely,

John Hey's in Craven. The day was the memorable 24th of August, and the person ordained was Mr. Timothy Hodgson, son of Mr. Heywood's early friend, Captain John Hodgson. Timothy Hodgson was living as chaplain in the house of Sir John Hewley. Mr. Hodgson applied to Mr. Heywood, who acquainted Mr. Frankland, Mr. Jollie, and other ministers. Mr. Heywood and Mr. Dawson were early at the place; so also was Mr. Jollie; but Mr. Frankland did not arrive till the evening. The day was spent in prayer, and Mr. Hodgson preached and gave an account of his religious experience. When Mr. Frankland arrived, Mr. Jollie moved to have the ordination put off, and there arose debates among them, which ended in Mr. Jollie withdrawing himself and going home*. Mr. Hodgson's testimonials were signed by Sir John Hewley and Mr. Ward of

* Mr. Jollie was, as before observed, an Independent; and the congregation at Altham, of which he was the minister, was an Independent congregation formed according to the strictest rules of Independency in the Commonwealth times. A regular record was kept of all its proceedings, of which an early abstract remains in the possession of Mr. Jollie's descendants, throwing the strongest light of anything I have ever seen on the constitution and usages of these societies. Church censures were frequently called for on account of flagrant immoralities in the midst of the incessant religious exercises, and the perpetual renewing of covenants. Excommunications were not unfrequent. One reads such an unfeeling entry as the following with a feeling approximating to the indignant:—"1655, Jennet Cunliffe for keeping company with a papist, and promising him marriage against the advice of the church founded on the word of God, and persisting in it after admonition, was cast out of communion in the ensuing form:—I do here, in the name and with the power of the Lord Jesus, and in the name of the people of God, cast Jennet Cunliffe out of the Church, and deliver her up to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus." With what inconsistency would this knot of country people in one of the rudest and most ignorant parts of Lancashire complain of the excommunications of the prelates, or even of the sentences of the Roman Catholic Church? The young lady was a daughter of a member of Parliament, and the gentleman to whom she was attached and afterwards married was of one of the best families in the parish,—John Grimshaw, Esq.

York. His thesis was the question, *An Ordinatio ministri sine titulo, id est sine ecclesiâ in quâ ordinaretur, sit æquè ridicula ac si quis maritus fingeretur esse sine uxore?* The service was conducted, as on the former occasion, with imposition of hands. Mr. Heywood, Mr. Frankland, Mr. Dawson, Mr. Wright, and Mr. Is-sot laid on their hands. There were several scholars and young ministers present, as Mr. John Heywood, Mr. Cotton, Mr. Kirby, Mr. Halliday, Mr. John Lister, and Mr. Peter Finch, beside John Beck and the Craven people, including Mrs. Lambert.

Mr. Hodgson continued to reside in the family of Sir John and Lady Hewley for many years.

1681.

Mr. Heywood was engaged in two other ordinations in the course of this year.

The first was that of a person who became distinguished in the Dissenting body in Yorkshire, Timothy Jollie, the son of Thomas Jollie of Altham. He was educated in Frankland's academy, which he entered as early as 1673, and when he had completed his term of study went to London, where he joined a church of which Mr. Griffith was pastor*. On the death of Mr. Durant he was invited to become the pastor of a congregation of Dissenters at Sheffield, and had not been long there before he sought to be ordained. Mr. Heywood consented to take part in it, and on the 26th of April 1681 he proceeded to Sheffield, accompanied by Mr. Thomas Jollie. They were received at the house of Abel Yates, where Mr. Timothy Jollie boarded, and were joined the next morning by Mr. Hancock and Mr. Bloom. These four ministers were the ordainers, Mr. Heywood acting as moderator. They began the work at ten o'clock with prayer. Mr. Timothy Jollie then delivered a sermon on

* Mr. George Griffith, ejected from the Charter-house. The place of meeting was Girdlers'-hall in Bishopsgate-street.—*Calamy, Account*, p. 51.

Isaiah v, 1, 2. To this part of the service the public were admitted. The ministers were then left alone for three hours, which they spent in examining the candidate in logic, philosophy, languages, divinity, &c. There was no Latin thesis on which he had to speak, but this was an accidental omission; instead, there was an extemporary discussion among them, *An Infantes omnes baptizatorum, etsi scandalizantium, sint baptizandi?* This was the work of the first day, and it was concluded a little before six. They met again at Abel Yates', when the work was carried on at seven the next morning. But in the meantime some dissatisfaction was expressed by two members of the society at Sheffield at what was going on. They being Independents disliked this ordination by Presbyters, and said that it should be done by Ruling Elders in the name of the people, which indeed it ought to have been had Mr. Jollie's been an Independent ordination to an Independent pastorship. No notice was, however, taken of that opinion or of them, and the ministers went on with their work. Mr. Hancock and Mr. Bloom prayed, most of the members of the society being then present. Mr. Heywood then proposed the prescribed questions; and Mr. Jollie having given satisfactory answers, his father in a very pathetic manner gave him up to God as a minister, as he had formerly given him up in baptism. He then kneeled down, and the ministers standing round him, Mr. Heywood prayed, the ministers laying their hands upon him. The whole assembly were strongly affected. When this was over, Mr. Heywood gave an exhortation, and ended with prayer.

The ordination being over, the elders of the church desired all who were not of the society to withdraw, when Mr. Heywood himself and all the strangers, of whom there were many, retired. An elder then read the letter of Mr. Griffith dismissing Mr. Jollie from the church in London. He then signified the desire of the people that Mr. Jollie should undertake the office of

pastor, in which the people expressed their concurrence by holding up their hands. He assented. Mr. Thomas Jollie then delivered an address on the relative duties of pastor and people, and Mr. Timothy Jollie concluded the whole business with prayer. The service on this second day occupied nearly twelve hours.

Mr. Heywood has some remarks on the "more than ordinary mercies in this solemnity," which are deserving attention, as throwing light on the state of the Non-Conforming body at this period:—

"First, that this church, which was always accounted Independent, would admit of a pastor ordained by Presbyters; yea Mr. Durant immediately before was of another persuasion. I look on this as an olive-branch of peace amongst God's people.—Second, there was no doubt or objection raised in that affair, as young Mr. Jollie observed, 'no noise of a hammer in that building.' He was glad Mr. Ogle* came not, though invited, who is otherwise minded, yet by Providence necessarily hindered; living at Chesterfield.—Thirdly, Mr. Hancock and Mr. Bloom, who have had an unhappy clashing a considerable time, sweetly joined in this work without the least reflection, yea with some humble acknowledgements of their folly; which is a hopeful sign of reconciliation.—Fourthly, though it was too well known in town, and parish, and country, for which we had reason to challenge some for imprudence, yet there was no disturbance or affront howsoever, in the midst of a considerable market-town; and if no hurt came of it, we must ascribe it to God's providence, not our prudence.—Fifthly, it is a wonderfully transcendent mercy that in such a day as this is, God raiseth up out of private schools so many young men so well furnished with learning, gifts, graces, for his work, as a seminary for the church, to 'build up the waste places of Zion.'—Sixth, God did not withdraw his gracious presence and assistance

* Mr. Thomas Ogle, ejected at Rolleston in Nottinghamshire.—*Calamy, Account*, p. 529.

from our work, but did melt many hearts in prayer ; I hope some will remember it while they have a day to live.—Seventh, many, I think, all the people, were very well satisfied : several of them came to us the day following, expressed their gratitude, and high resentment of that day's work, and the young man himself was abundantly encouraged. Blessed, for ever blessed, be the Lord for his mercy thus far.”

A record of the proceeding, engrossed on parchment, and signed by the ordaining ministers, was delivered to Mr. Timothy Jollie. Mr. Billingsley, a student under Frankland, and Mr. Kirby and Mr. Eliezer Heywood, two young and unordained ministers, were present.

While the ministers were together, they were desired to pay some attention to the qualifications for the ministry of two other persons. One was Mr. David Noble, who had been the schoolmaster at Morley, with whom Mr. Heywood placed his sons, and who was then the chaplain to Mr. Woolhouse of Glapwell, in Derbyshire. He prayed and preached before them “ very profitably*.”

* They did not, however, proceed to the ordination of Mr. Noble, who was a Scotsman, born at Inverness, and brought up to the business of a tailor ; but, being of a studious turn of mind, he “ acquired the Latin and Greek tongues to that perfection, that he offered himself to the severest examination, and passed it with success.” He came to England, and became, as we have seen, a teacher of a school. Mr. Woolhouse of Glapwell, who was an Independent, took him into his house as a private chaplain, and he preached there and at Sutton in Nottinghamshire. He received Presbyterian ordination from Mr. Whitlock and Mr. Reynolds, the ejected ministers of Nottingham, as “ one whom God, by extraordinary qualifications, had pointed out for the work and success.” He finally became pastor of the Independent congregation at Heckmonwyke, where he died, in November, 1709. He was very much devoted to the study of the prophetic books of Scripture, particularly the Apocalypse, on which he left, in manuscript, a large treatise, and the book of Daniel. In 1700 he printed, in 8vo, a work, entitled *The Visions and Prophecies of Daniel explained*. He left other treatises, in manuscript, on divers points in divinity.—Part of this note is taken from a contemporary memorandum in the copy of his work on Daniel in the Library of the Dissenting Academy lately at York.

The other was Robert Dickenson, a Ruling Elder in the society, but living beyond Doncaster. He had been an occasional preacher for the two preceding years.

Mr. Jollie continued the pastor of the society at Sheffield till his death, in 1714, and was for many years the tutor of the academy which succeeded Frankland's at Attercliffe.

In the other ordination of this year, in which Mr. Heywood was engaged, his own son, John Heywood, was the person ordained, and the house at which the service was performed was that of John Hey in Craven. The choice of this place probably arose out of the desire of privacy, and the convenience of Mr. Frankland, then living near Kendal. It was proposed that Mr. Frankland, Mr. Jollie, Mr. Heywood, Mr. Dawson and Mr. Issot should ordain, but, before the time arrived, Mr. Jollie invited Mr. Heywood to meet him at Mr. Whitaker's at Leeds, where were also Mr. Naylor and Mr. Holdsworth, when "Mr. Jollie read us some fundamentals in doctrine and distinctions about communion of churches he had prepared; but we did little; only we had some discourse about my son John. Mr. Jollie took me aside, and made his objections of some miscarriages he had heard of, and also declared his judgement that he ought to be set apart in the church to which he was related. This latter, I answered, could not be done; and for the former, I writ, on the morning after, and received a satisfactory answer, that his intelligence was not true; and, indeed, I had been several years much comforted in my son John's serious spirit, diligent studies, pious conversation. Such things, coming from so good a man, did much trouble me, and engaged me to a diligent search, which search did increase my satisfaction. However, jealousies were much raised in me." Mr. Jollie finally did not join with the four other ministers who performed the ordinance on the 23rd and 24th of August, the great solemn day of the Non-Conformists.

There is nothing peculiar in the manner of this or-

dination, except that testimonials to the candidate's "ministerial abilities, soundness in faith, pious conversation," from several places where he had preached, Coley, Morley, Warley, Lidget and Cawthorne, were produced. John Hey and Richard Mitchel declared their satisfaction. His thesis was *An Episcopus idem sit qui Presbyter?* A certificate was given to him by the ministers.

A number of young ministers were present, all having studied under Mr. Frankland, as Mr. Kirby, Mr. Halliday, Mr. Whitworth, Mr. Byrom, Mr. Jones and Eliezer Heywood; John Beck came from Kendal. Thomas Leach, one of Mr. Heywood's congregation, was there, and the two Craven friends.

Mr. John Heywood had been for a short time chaplain to Lady Wilbraham, between the time of his leaving the people in Craven and his ordination; and for a short time after the ordination he was with his Craven friends, preaching for Mr. Issot, who was at that time their pastor. Mr. Heywood has left a very minute account of the movements of his son for the first ten months after his ordination, in which it appears that he preached for some weeks, at Mr. Frankland's suggestion, at two private houses on the borders of Westmoreland, namely, John Thornton's, nine miles from Lancaster, and John Thornback's, at Middleton-head, near Sedbergh. But he had very few hearers, and those not very attentive, and all the income the people could promise was six pounds a-year. His father fetched him away*, and, in June, 1682, sent the two brothers to London, to "hear famous ministers and converse with scholars."

And while on the business of ordination, I shall give some account of another, though it belongs to the June

* In the diary, May 24, 1682, Mr. Heywood says, "Frank Becket and others of my son's hearers came to me; told me their discontentments as to danger and people's falling off. I took my son from them, being very unworthy; wept and prayed among them: they were little affected; I saw his work was at an end there."

of 1682. In April Mr. Jollie called on Mr. Heywood about the setting apart to the ministry Mr. Robert Waddington, who had been a ruling elder in Mr. Jollie's church. It was proposed that Mr. Benson of Kellet, near Lancaster, Mr. Pendlebury, Mr. Kay and Mr. John Jollie, should meet at Mr. Thomas Jollie's for the purpose on May 16. But they all failed, and only Mr. Issot came out of Craven. He and Mr. Jollie proceeded to the work; but when they had made some progress, they began to think that two ministers were too few for the purpose, so that the work was adjourned to the 6th of June. They applied to Mr. Heywood, who agreed to join them; and met at Mr. Jollie's Mr. Frankland and his son, Mr. Benson, Mr. Greenwood of Lancaster and Mr. Kay. It was intended that Mr. Matthew Smith, then newly settled at Kipping, should accompany Mr. Heywood, but he disappointed them. It was agreed that the previous examination should be sufficient. Then a difficulty presented itself, Mr. Jollie wishing that the people of his society should express their desire of dedicating him to God. Here was a principal difference between the Presbyterians and Independents brought into question. Mr. Frankland was against it, "as having no warrant, and importing some power." In the end it was not conceded to, and the service was conducted in the usual manner, Mr. Jollie acting as moderator.

Mr. Heywood takes notice of the long drought in April and May, 1681; and, as what he says presents us with a view of the popular notions of the time, it may bear transcription:—"I saw the dreadfullest sight of waste pastures in my travels that ever my eyes beheld; scarce any green thing left in fields. I saw, both in Howarth parish and up towards Marsden, the strangest fires upon the moors that have been known, burning up the heath and dry mossy earth many miles forward, and could not be quenched. The beasts of the field began to smart and feel the effects of God's anger. Many

strange incredible stories were told of many places ; of an ox speaking, saying, ‘ What should I plough for ? there’s more corn sown than will be reaped ; ’ near Easingwold, in Yorkshire. It is confidently and credibly reported, that it rained wheat at Leicester in May ; also near Pontefract, and near Leeds ; several quantities were in many hands, but little solid nourishment therein ! ”

On the 25th of May, died Mr. Gamaliel Marsden, who had been ejected in 1662 from one of the chapels in the parish of Halifax. He was one of the four sons, all Non-Conforming ministers, of Ralph Marsden, one of Mr. Heywood’s predecessors at Coley. He had studied in Trinity College, Dublin, and was turned out there in 1660 ; so that he had a kind of double ejection. Came over to Liverpool, with few friends and little money, for, having paid his passage and bought a horse, he had but five pounds remaining. He came to Coley ; “ light first at my house in Northowram ; stayed under my window when we were at family prayer. We entertained him some nights. He then went to Joshua Bayley’s of Allerton, where his brother Jeremiah had lately been minister, who made him welcome ; and he married a young woman in the family with forty pounds a-year. Was minister at Chapel-le-Brears ; out at Bartholomew ’62. His wife died. He went into Holland ; returned ; was teacher to the church at Topcliffe ; married Mr. Marshall’s widow, who lived plentifully, comfortably. He died with honour, and was buried May 27. Left a competent estate to his friends, wife, having no child. Lent, gave, while he lived. Bequeathed twenty pounds to poor ministers, widows, scholars, godly poor. Ordered by his last will Mr. John Pickering of Tingley and myself to assist his wife in the distribution of it ; for which we met at Mrs. Marsden’s February 14, 1682 ; ordered it as wisely and equally as we could for doing most good. Thus, even thus, our dear Lord takes care of his children and their children.” It further appears, from Mr. Heywood’s account, that he was not a very fluent or ac-

ceptable preacher, but extremely useful in training up young men in academical learning, in which he was much employed.

Mr. Heywood has some reflections on this case deserving attention :—“ Oh what a day I have lived to see this last twenty years! near two thousand ministers turned out of public maintenance for their consciences, living only on God’s providence, strangely preserved, maintained ; none that I know reduced to debts or extreme want ; many of them in a better condition than when they were turned out ; whereas many Conformists that stretched their consciences for a livelihood, or preferment, are reduced to such exigencies as drive them into prisons or dangers, or a-begging to hard-hearted men. God hath found employment for some, friends for others, or cast in real or personal estates on others, and given credit and good repute to all conscientious suffering ministers, that though they were sent without staff or scrip, they have lacked nothing ; *meipso adhuc testificante.*”

CHAPTER XIV.

1682—1686.

SUPPOSED EFFECTS OF THE KING'S INDULGENCE.—EFFORTS TO PREVENT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DISSENTING INTEREST.—RENEWAL OF SEVERITIES.—DIRECTED AGAINST THE YOUNGER MINISTERS.—DR. HOOKE.—VISIT TO THE ACADEMY.—FREQUENT ALARMS.—STATE OF NON-CONFORMITY IN YORKSHIRE.—VISITS LONDON.—PUBLISHES HIS *ISRAEL'S LAMENTATION*.—EXTRACTS.—SETTLEMENT OF MR. ELLISON AS CURATE OF COLEY.—VISITS YORK; THE HEWLEYS.—REFLECTIONS AT THE CLOSE OF 1683.—FURTHER ALARMS.—VISITS MANSFIELD AND NORTON.—FUNERAL SERMON FOR MR. COTES.—APPREHENDED.—REFLECTIONS AT THE CLOSE OF 1684.—CONVICTED AT THE SESSIONS AT WAKEFIELD.—IN THE CASTLE AT YORK FROM JANUARY TO DECEMBER 1685.—DEATH OF THE KING.—RELEASE.—RETURNS HOME.—COMPOUNDS FOR HIS FINE.—VISITS VARIOUS FRIENDS.

THE persons who saw nothing but evil in Non-Conformity and Dissent, speak of the Indulgence which was granted by the king as a fatal measure of policy, and as preventing the accomplishment of that re-union which, in their opinion, a continuance of the severe policy of the Earl of Clarendon would at length have effected. Sir John Resesby, a Yorkshire baronet, and an acute observer of the progress of public affairs, says, that from the date of those Indulgences there was an utter impossibility of stopping the progress of Dissent, and preventing the establishment of the Dissenting Interest, as it began to be called. And no doubt the desire of the ministers to return to the Church would not be quickened, nor their pertinacity in demanding the concessions which they required diminished, when they found, by experi-

ence, how ready men were to form themselves into societies, to put themselves under their spiritual guidance, to acknowledge them as genuine ministers of Christianity, to receive all the Sacraments at their hands, to prepare suitable places of worship for them, and to form an united body on which they might with some confidence rely. They saw in this the means of continued extensive and permanent employment and usefulness, which rendered the loss of their stations in the Church less grievous, when the retirement from the Church is looked at with reference to their own personal interests ; and they saw also that there were people not merely to recognise them in the character of their pastor, but who were willing to make provision for a succession of ministers like them, by supporting academies in which young men might be trained in University learning, and, in due time, be admitted into the ministry by such ordination as they had themselves received. We have seen that, even on the slender reliance on a Declaration which had no support from Parliament, and which might be revoked at any moment at the will of him who issued it, the ministers had such confidence in the continued attachment and support of the persons who adhered to them, that many of them connected the future fortunes of their children with this new order of things, training them, as far as possible, in their own prejudices and opinions, that they might succeed them in the new kind of ministry which was making its appearance in England.

This state of things was not viewed without alarm on the other side, and very strenuous efforts were at this period made to retain the Presbyterian body in the Church. Very persuasive appeals were made to them, grounded on the importance of preserving the Church of this kingdom entire, as the great protection and bulwark of the Protestant interest throughout Europe, on the excellence of the Church itself, and on the evils which attend ecclesiastical disunion among a people who are united politically. Many friends of the Church took a

higher ground, and called upon the persons who countenanced the ejected ministry in the measures which were now pursued, to beware of incurring the guilt of schism. Replies were published by some of the most eminent Non-Conformists. All this was legitimate warfare. But the principle of No Concession in any point was rigidly maintained by the public authorities.

It would have been well if the friends of the Church had contented themselves with this mode of warfare ; but the attempt was now made to regain the advantage which had been lost by recurring to the former odious measures of severity, and the last three years of the reign of Charles the Second are amongst the darkest in the history of Non-Conformity ; there was more of fining and imprisoning (the worst possible way of attempting to convince serious-minded men that they are in error), both of the elder ministers who had left the Church twenty years before, and also now of the younger who had lately been ordained by them, and who were ready to take their places ; and in no part of the kingdom was this new persecution carried on with more of bitterness than in the part with which Mr. Heywood was connected. Two young ministers, who had been pupils in the academy of Frankland, and who were settled in the ministry at Leeds and at Sheffield, were marked for this persecution, as examples, it may seem, to deter the other pupils of that seminary, namely, Thomas Whitaker, and Timothy Jollie, the son of Thomas Jollie of Altham. They were imprisoned for a long period in the Castle at York, and the death during that period of the young wife of Mr. Whitaker made his case the more grievous ; but they both bore it with a fortitude such that the example operated to encourage, not to deter. This is almost always the case. Persecution of an earnest religious party rarely succeeds when it stops short of extermination ; and it ought by this time to have been apparent to everybody that these severe measures could never effect the purpose designed by the institution of them,

and that if a frame of a church could not be settled in which all might be comprehended, those who would not, or who could not, conform to the Church as restored, must be allowed to pursue their own course, as long as the peace and security of the empire were not seriously endangered by them.

We return to Mr. Heywood.

1682.

His course during this year was much the same as in the preceding years since the recall of the Licenses ; and my notices of it will consist of but a few detached anecdotes.

On Friday, February 27, he describes an act of private devotion in which his mind appears to have been wrought up to a state of very intense feeling ; but it is noticed here for the purpose of showing that the vicar of Halifax continued his strenuous opposition. Mr. Heywood mentions as one of the subjects of his prayers, the forgiveness of Dr. Hooke and of some others of his neighbours, who had uttered of late some very severe things against the Non-Conformists ; but particularly Dr. Hooke, who, on " the king's day," January 30, had " charged the murder of old King Charles on Non-Conformists by name. It troubled me, and God helped me to spread it before the Lord, and his late book also, as Hezekiah did Rabshakeh's letter."

In May, he paid a visit to the Academy, then at Natland, near Kendal. His neighbour Jonathan Priestley accompanied him. They passed by Kildwick to Settle, and by Thornton near Ingleton (where a lady's daughter was the inn-keeper), to Kirkby Lonsdale, and thence to Natland. The day after his arrival all the family and the scholars, about twenty in number, were called together, when Mr. Heywood delivered a discourse to them from 2 Chron. xxix, 11*, which he had studied

* Mr. Heywood's intimate familiarity with every part of Scripture enabled him to select the texts of his discourses with much

for the occasion. On the Saturday, Mr. Frankland being indisposed and his wife from home, Mr. Heywood got together several of the scholars in his room, and they spent some hours together in prayer and religious discourse. On Sunday, there was a very great assembly at Mr. Frankland's house. Mr. Heywood conducted the service, which lasted for five hours. In the evening Mr. Frankland and he rode to Oxenholme, about a mile distant, to visit Mrs. Archer, "a sad widow, her husband lying dead in the house." On Monday morning he took his leave in prayer. At Lancaster he was entertained by Mr. Greenwood, and walking about the town was mistaken for the new vicar. The next day Mr. Mayor and Mr. Ashhurst came to visit him, and he went to Kellet, three miles from Lancaster, where he preached at Mr. Benson's house, to a considerable company. He arrived the next day at Richard Mitchel's, when he learned that several friends were staying at John Hey's for his preaching. "I hasted thither, found them together, J. H. praying. I preached that evening on 1 Cor. vi, 11, which was the first sermon that ever was preached in that new-built meeting-place and pulpit*." The next morning people came to Richard Mitchel's expecting to hear him preach, to whom he repeated his sermon, and proceeding to Riddlesden-hall in Bingley, he found people there also staying for him. From thence he went to Joshua Walker's at Rushworth-hall, called on Mr. Smith at Kipping, and so home. Thus eagerly were his services coveted.

His feeling respecting persons whom he regarded as intruders upon the ministry is strikingly illustrated in the following anecdote:—"Upon Wednesday morning,

advantage, and the selection is often very happily made. In this instance, the words are, "My sons, be not now negligent: for the Lord hath chosen you to stand before him, to serve him, and that ye should minister unto him, and burn incense."

* This must mean the meeting-house at Winterburn, between Settle and Skipton, the only one which arose in Craven under the old Dissent. It was the place which Mrs. Lambert attended.

June 28, came Ralph Leeming, one that had been my servant, to invite me to his father's funeral, old Joseph Blamire at Bradford; but I told him 'I was for Lancashire that day.' 'I hear, Ralph,' said I, 'you are turned a preacher!' He said, 'There are few preachers now-a-days, but readers, expounders.' I asked him 'What call he had?' He said, 'He had a call from God.' I told him, 'He must have either an *ordinary* call, and then he must be tried by such as had discerning; or *extraordinary*, and then let him show it by extraordinary gifts and miracles.' He said, 'A man is fittest to judge of his call,' &c. I told him what the Apostle said, 1 Cor. vii, 20, 'Let every man abide in the calling;' I told him 'of his calling to be a cloth-miller; then he presumed to be a physician, and now a preacher, which I knew he was not fit for.' He said, 'I was not his judge; that Paul was a tent-maker and preacher, so might he follow all these callings.' I told him, 'Paul was 'an Apostle, not of men nor by man,' an extraordinary person, not fit to be imitated.' Thus he and I talked a considerable time at the gates. God put me into an unusual heat: (1.) to protest against the course he was for taking, and told him he sinned in it, and God would not bless him in presuming upon such a weighty work without a call; (2.) I reminded him of his former profession, above twenty years ago, when he lived with me; and, indeed, I fear he hath lost that religion he seemed once to have." This last reflection sounds a little uncharitably.

June 30, Being in Lancashire, he preached at widow Travers' in Blackley; at Mr. Barlow's in Manchester; visited the ministers living there, and Mr. Serjeant at Stand. The house at Bolton at which at this period he was generally received was that of his brother-in-law, John Okey.

July 9. Sunday. "I heard that the officers would come at ten o'clock. I appointed to begin at five o'clock in the morning. I did begin near six, preached till nine,

on Rev. xxii, 14. Began at one in the afternoon, preached till four; God helped. The officers were very civil and courteous; stayed a little; came exactly at ten. Blessed be God for one day more." This was one of the ways by which private good feeling interposed between oppressive laws and the objects of them. Notice, we see, was given of the time when the officers would arrive.

But the danger appears to have increased. On Sunday, July 16, he was to preach at Alverthorpe. "I got up by four o'clock; was helped to commit myself to God in this time of great danger; so went to Mr. Nailor's. We resolved upon going to the meeting-place, though it had not been used some days before. We began at eight o'clock, preached till ten; began again at twelve, were till after three; enjoyed a sweet quiet Sabbath!"

August 24 was observed as a solemn fast. "*Sit hic ultimus dies in clade Bartholomeá. Dic Amen, Domine!*"

He speaks again of this fast in another volume, to which this epigraph is prefixed,—“Oliver Heywood bought this little book to write reflections upon yearly, and solemn engagements to be the Lord's;” and in a way which may assist us in forming a conception of the state of the Non-Conformists at that period in these parts of Yorkshire:—“On August 24, 1682, that which they call Bartholomew Day, twenty years after our woe-ful, mournful separation from the public assemblies, we had a solemn fast at William Clay's. My heart was very much carried out for our restoration. There were extraordinary meltings of soul in most that were present. On August 30, '82, at mine own house, we kept a solemn day of thanksgiving to God for the public liberty we have enjoyed in my house without interruption above ten years, notwithstanding many warrants issued out against us, as well as others. Yet we have been secured, through the moderation of our officers, as instrumental, when all the societies round about us have been sadly broken and scattered. Mr. Smith at Kipping, Mr. Dawson at

Closes*, Mr. Jos. Holdsworth at Heckmonwyke, meet not in the day, but in the night, for these several months. So at Leeds, Morley, Topcliffe, Alverthorpe, Mr. Whitehurst's at Lidiat, all have been in some way hindered in the places they used to meet in and the times they met on. And in Craven they have been fined. At Sheffield they were all taken off; some troubled at Sessions; watched. At Jo. Armitage's they meet in the night. At Robert Binns' hitherto obstructed; scarce any place in the country free. Mr. Ward of York hunted, fined forty pounds; scattered: scarce any place in the country free, except Hull. And yet we, even we, at this poor Northowram, have been quiet, never informed against, disturbed, molested; only two or three days we began a little sooner than at other times, but God brought full companies, and that was but when we knew what times the officers would come, immediately before the Sessions, and then returned into our old channel again, and have now vast multitudes that flock to us from all parts of the country, so many meetings being broken. This duly considered, I looked upon it as our great duty to return God solemn thanks among his people for these discriminating acts of providence, that our fleece is wet, when others' are dry, and accordingly the aforesaid day we endeavoured to 'pay our vows.' Mr. Dawson and Mr. Halliday helped us to praise God."

November 1, He was at Leeds, where he dined with Mr. Hickson. Mr. Thoresby and Mr. Boyse accompanied him to Mr. Middleborough's, at whose house he was a frequent visitor †.

November 5. "Began my work at Alverthorpe meet-

* This was in Birstall. Mr. Dawson about this time became minister at the chapel of Morley.

† This Mr. Thoresby was Ralph Thoresby the antiquary and virtuoso, who also kept a diary, in which, under this day, is the following entry:—"With worthy Mr. Heywood and Mr. Boyse at Mr. E. H.'s; with whom rode after dinner to honest Mr. Middlebrook's, steward above twenty years to the Earl of Sussex, to hear some remarkable stories of old Sir John Savile."

ing; expounded, sung, prayed, preached not above a quarter of an hour before intelligence was brought that the chief constable and officers were coming. We broke off; they came; pursued us with rage; hindered us all day. At night I preached at Jo. Holdsworth's; lodged at W. Kirk's; had a gracious providence that day in my escape out of their hands. Monday, in the morning, I was cut short in my closet work, it being reported the officers would come again to search for me."

December 7. "After my morning's work my wife and I rode to Halifax, to the funeral of my dear friend Mr. John Brearcliffe, apothecary in Halifax, my old hearer; a very active, useful man. Dr. Hooke preached on 2 Cor. v, 15; commended him, as indeed he had good reason."

December 18, He set out on a visit among his friends in the south of Yorkshire and at Walling-wells, visiting Mr. Cotton, Mr. Benton at Barnsley, Mr. Wordsworth at Swathe-hall, and Mr. Gill at Car-house, where he found Mr. Prime. At Rotherham he visited young Mr. Shaw, who was dying*. He then proceeded to Mr. Hatfield's at Laughton, and so to Mr. Taylor's, where he found Mr. Hancock and Mr. Denton†. There was a full assembly at a monthly fast. On the Sunday there was again a full assembly. On the next day he was prevailed upon to accompany the family to London. The ladies rode in the carriage, the gentlemen on horseback.

* This was the only son of John Shaw, who had been vicar of Rotherham and deeply engaged in the political affairs of the time of the Commonwealth. He has left, in the prefaces to various sermons preached by him, some curious notices of his own escapes in the time of the Civil Wars, besides a large account of his own life, to which reference has been made before. The young man died.

† Nathan Denton, who was ordained at Hemsworth in 1658, "by the Presbytery of the West Riding," says Calamy (*Continuation, &c.*, p. 950). He lived during the greater part of his life at Bolton-upon-Dearne, in the neighbourhood of Great Houghton, where he preached; and was one of the very few Ejected Ministers then alive, 1713, when Dr. Calamy published his Account of them; and at his death in 1720 was thought to be the last survivor.

Sir Ralph Knight was of the party. They reached Nottingham that day, where Mr. Heywood visited Mr. Whitlock and Mr. Reynolds, the two inseparable friends, who were both ejected in that town. Here they dismissed the private carriage, and got into Mr. Hawkins' stage-coach. We obtain authentic information of the rate at which these conveyances travelled in those days. They reached Leicester the first day, where they slept. On the second day they reached Northampton, and stayed to sleep there. To Dunstable was the third day's journey; and they arrived in London on the fourth. The coach took them to the Anchor in Smithfield.

While in London he was entertained first at the house of Mr. John Denham at the Postern by Basinghall-street, opposite Lorimer's-hall, where Dr. Samuel Annesley preached, whom he heard on Sunday, the day but one after his arrival, and Mr. Hughes in the afternoon, preaching himself at the same place in the evening.

1683.

Mr. Heywood spent the whole of the month of January in London, mixing most with the Non-Conforming ministers, who were preaching openly, though often interrupted by the magistracy, joining with them in private fasts and in their public services, and visiting those who were in prison. He heard also some Conformist preachers, particularly Dr. Burnet, Dr. Sharp, Dr. Tillotson and Dr. Fowler, the latter of whom he heard deliver a very excellent sermon against persecution.

The Non-Conforming ministers whom he heard were, Mr. Oakes, Mr. Howe at Pinner's-hall; Mr. Lockyer, Mr. Nathaniel Vincent, at whose meeting-place in Southwark Mr. Heywood and Mr. Maddocks kept a fast with Mr. Vincent; Mr. Taylor, in Mr. Jacomb's place at Haberdashers'-hall; Mr. Slater, Mr. Jacomb at Pinner's-hall; Mr. Jeremiah Marsden, then calling himself

Ralphson*, Mr. Turner in Fetter Lane and Mr. Stretton. He went on one occasion to Pinners'-hall to hear Mr. Alsop, but found the place so crowded that he could not obtain admittance.

The trial of Mr. Vincent took place while Mr. Heywood was in London, and he twice visited him in prison. He visited also Mr. Franklin, confined in the New Prison. He preached for Mr. Calamy at Cutlers'-hall.

Mr. Heywood left London on Thursday, February 1, and came that day to Garson in Hertfordshire, -the seat of "Esquire Marsh," where his son, Mr. John Heywood, was then the chaplain. The next day was a solemn day of fasting and prayer at Mr. Marsh's, where Mr. Grew and old Mr. Hill joined with the two Mr. Heywoods in the service. He stayed with Mr. Marsh till the Monday, and on the Sunday conducted a service which began about seven in the morning, because of threatenings of soldiers coming from St. Albans; had done at nine; began again at eleven and continued till near two. He met the coach at St. Albans on Monday, in which was the party with whom he had come up to London. They slept, as before, at Dunstable, Northampton and Leicester.

While in town his tract, intitled, 'Israel's Lamentation after the Lord,' was printed. Mr. Thomas Parkhurst, the general bookseller of the Non-Conformists, by whom it was published, "in reading the epistle, found some smart reflections, which he communicated to me, thinking it was not safe to print them, being then a very hazardous time. Upon reading of them, I thought so too, so expunged them, which I am heartily glad I did; for when it came down into the country Dr. H.

* This was one of the sons of Ralph Marsden, once the minister of Coley; of whom there is an excellent account in Dr. Calamy's *Continuation*, &c. (p. 942—945), being an abridgement of a manuscript left by Mr. Marsden, or Ralphson, himself, intitled, *Contemplatio Vitæ miserabilis*. I have inquired for this manuscript in vain. He was one of the most rigid of the Separatists.

[Hooke] sent for it, and greedily, and, I fear, captiously, read it over; said it was a seditious piece. Another said it was full of faction. Consulting with his clergy, they all censured it deeply; yea, Justice H. [Horton*] had it, and Sir John Kaye, and a confident story was brought me from Halifax, that, on Monday, April 16, 1683, the justices met at Huddersfield to consider my book. I was also summoned to the Sessions that week, though not on that account. My fears were great, my trouble surprising: and the rather, (1.) because in writing I had brought myself into trouble, and began to question my call to write; (2.) because my adversaries seemed to have got the advantage against me they had long been seeking; (3.) some of my friends censured me, and some at M. [Manchester] said I had laid myself open; another gave hints as though I had not done wisely; (4.) a godly eminent minister, to whom I showed the passage they excepted against, shook the head, and said it was true that I writ, viz., that a law was made to thrust out two thousand ministers, August 24, 1662, but, saith he, 'They will interpret it as complaining of the laws; but,' saith he, 'you must stand by it.' Upon this I was still more troubled, dejected, could not tell what to say. But, after awhile, God helped me to humble my soul before God, beg pardon of what I had done amiss against God and men, committing myself and my all to God, comforting myself that what I had writ was in the uprightness of my heart to do good, and that I had no seditious design in it. And, notwithstanding all that talk, I have reason to think there was no such thing, for to this day, which is May 28, 1683, I hear no more of it; I mean, I hear nothing more of the justices concerning themselves about it."

And now, what was this seditious passage, of the consequence of which Mr. Heywood had such dismal apprehensions? It is, as may be believed from what we

* Not Joshua, who was of a different spirit, but one of his nephews, either Thomas of Barkisland, or William of Howroyd.

have seen of his political bearing, a very harmless one ; being no more than this :—

“ An objection may be framed against all that I have said. You will say, ‘ What is all this canting for ? How doth it concern us ? Have we not public ordinances ? Doth not the Gospel flourish ? Is there not excellent preaching in public places ? The generality have no reason to complain, since we have Christian magistrates, a glorious Church, learned preachers ; nay, with respect to others that pretend tenderness of conscience, they complain before they are hurt ; have they not their separate meetings in a public way without disturbance ? Little reason have any to make this ado in lamenting ; what cause have you to lament ? ’

“ I answer, as Cleophas :—‘ Art thou only a stranger in our Jerusalem, and hast not known the things which are come to pass there in these days ? ’ If you ask ‘ What things ? ’ Do I need to inform you, or rub up your memories by telling you, that, twenty years ago, two thousand ministers, then found in peaceable possession of their places of worship, were dispossessed and ejected by the Act of Uniformity, commencing August 24, 1662, and shortly after, in 1665, were prohibited meeting together above four for religious worship, and another Act prohibiting them from coming or being within five miles of any such places where they had preached, or a corporation ; and were severely menaced and punished by a second Act against Conventicles, with sharper penalties ; and though the King’s Majesty set them at liberty for a season, yet that was quickly retracted, and many could have little benefit by it. Now, whether the silencing of ministers be not an obstructing of the Gospel and of ordinances, judge you ; and if you say you are not concerned in this case, I shall not speak to you, but turn my discourse to others.” Surely a very harmless, or at least a very excusable appeal.

There are more striking passages in other parts of the book, and some which well exemplify the peculiar kind

of eloquence in which Mr. Heywood's writings abound, which have a certain richness that may be resembled to that of the cloth of gold of our ancestors, his own strong vernacular English closely interwoven with the golden threads of the language of Holy Writ.

“ Righteous art thou, O Lord, in all thy ways, and holy in all thy works, must dust and ashes say when they speak to thee or plead with thee. All our Israel have transgressed thy law, and despised thy Gospel, therefore hast thou brought upon us a great evil, such as hath scarce ever been done under the whole heaven : not three shepherds cut off in a month, but two thousand in one day ; and this not for a day, or month, or year, but even twenty years already ; neither is there any among us that knoweth how long this sad cloud may be upon us. Thy will be done : thou hast punished us less than our iniquities deserve ; but to the Lord our God belong mercies and forgiveness, though we have rebelled against thee ; and shall not the Judge of all the earth do right ? Look down from heaven and behold from the habitation of thy holiness and thy glory. Shall the needy always be forgotten ? shall the expectation of the poor perish for ever ? ”

“ Let thy dead men live, thy slain witnesses be called up and ascend to heaven in a cloud ; let there be a shaking, that these dry bones may come together. Come, oh wind, and breathe on them, that they may live. Cause thy face to shine upon thy sanctuary, for the Lord's sake ; in midst of judgement remember mercy, and at last revisit thy work : give us the opening of the mouth ; set thy light on a candlestick ; hold the stars in thy right hand ; let thy people's eyes see their teachers ; give us help from trouble, for vain is the help of man ; purify the sons of Levi, that they may offer to the Lord an offering in righteousness. ”

“ This has been a very dark and gloomy day, a day of rebuke and blasphemy, a day of scattering and treading down in the valley of vision ; ministers and

their flocks rent asunder ; solemn assemblies sorrowfully broken up ; and silent Sabbaths, by some profaned ; ignorance increasing, conversion work suspended, sinners hardened, young beginners in religion discouraged, atheism abounding, persecution revived, and thousands of precious souls wandering about as sheep that have no shepherd ; many public places being ill supplied, and guilt brought upon the nation, pressing us down towards destruction ; yea, such sins as leave a people remediless, mocking the messengers of God, despising his words, misusing his prophets, till the wrath of God arise against us, till there be no remedy, or no healing.”—
 “ It is dreadful, indeed, to see debauchery in the land abounding, and the breasts of men vent personal malice against God’s dearest children for no other fault than worshipping God, and praying for their persecutors.”

One quotation more:—“ While wicked Gadarenes are, by words and works, bidding the blessed Jesus depart out of our coasts, it becomes us solemnly to invite him, to open the doors of our hearts to him, and give him free welcome, saying, ‘ Lord, abide with us ;’ and thus he may be constrained to tarry with us. And though in this dreadful tempest with which the ship of the Church is sorely tossed, so that it is covered with waves, our Lord be asleep, yet faith and prayer will awaken him ; and though we cannot peremptorily say he will save our persons or privileges, or his Church in England, yet we may with some confidence say, he will certainly save Zion, and build his Church somewhere in the world ; he will save our own souls, and it may be we shall be hid in the day of God’s anger ; it may be that the Lord of Hosts will be precious unto the remnant of Joseph. Who knoweth, if he will return and repent, and leave a blessing behind him ?”

The people of Coley seem to have been unfortunate in the curates who took the place of Mr. Heywood. In the twenty years after the Act of Uniformity had removed him from the chapel, they had not fewer than ten

in succession, the last of whom, however, Mr. Timothy Ellison, was one whom Mr. Heywood much approved. He was born near Preston; was of Puritan extraction; Mr. Nathaniel Heywood used often to preach at his father's house. "This young man hath good parts, prays well, preacheth zealously, and, 'tis said, lives honestly: people flock to him abundantly; are much affected: blessed be God!" He came to Coley in the summer of 1682, and we find him living on friendly terms with Mr. Heywood, who not unfrequently, in 1683 and other years, formed part of his congregation, and he remained at Coley till the time of Mr. Heywood's decease.

After several preaching excursions in the early months of the year, he went again to Mr. Frankland's, who had changed his residence, the academy being then at Calton-hall in Craven, the seat of the Lamberts. On the 26th of June he went to York, where he was entertained at the house of Mr. Andrew Taylor, at whose house the Non-Conformists of York usually met for worship before the chapel in Saint Saviour Gate was erected. He was also much at Lady Hewet's, where Mrs. Lambert, who was then at York, sometimes joined them. He visited Mr. Timothy Jollie, then undergoing his imprisonment in the Castle. He went also to Bell-hall, Sir John Hewley's country residence, a few miles from York. Here, he says, he "discoursed with that sad lady on her kinswoman's account;" meaning Lady Hewley. He prayed and preached with Mr. Hodgson the chaplain, and on the next day "discoursed, and God helped, with Lady Hewley, to comfort her about that young woman's miscarriage in the family." When he returned to York, there was a meeting at Lady Hewet's, at which Mr. Ward preached as well as Mr. Heywood. He visited several other of the Presbyterians of York, whom he names, and departed secretly through the postern, Sir John Reresby, the governor of York, having placed soldiers at the gates, to intercept him, as it would seem

he understood it to be ; but the notices are not clear. He came to Alverthorpe, “ a place and time of danger,” where he preached on a Sunday, to a great assembly, without molestation.

The apprehensions of his friends gathered strength :— “ Wednesday, July 4, in the morning, when I was at prayer in my study, R. J. came purposely from Horbury to tell me of two maids set in the house of correction, because they would not inform who were at meeting ; and to warn me to look to myself. Mr. Dawson and I went into Warley ; Mr. Holdsworth met us. Thursday, spent most of the day in taking a catalogue of my books, readying them, foreseeing a storm. Saturday, Mr. Oates came that night to warn me against preaching. Sunday, I had appointed to begin at six o’clock ; people came. Before I had preached half an hour, intelligence came that the officers were coming. I desisted ; we scattered. Mr. O. and the constable came ; I was gone to chapel [that is, to the public chapel at Coley] ; came at noon ; preached after dinner to a considerable company.”—The alarms of this kind are now so frequent that I do not think it necessary to take notice of every one of them. On the 15th of July, on account of these apprehensions, he had service at four in the morning*.

Of his private devotions, which were incessant, I have said little ; they were also frequently, at this time, very intense. But it may be observed, that he enters in his diary, under July 27, that he had that day made a vow to spend two hours every day in secret prayer, one in the morning, and another at four or five o’clock.

The people in Lancashire, where he spent the first fortnight of the month of August, were in the same state of apprehension.

* On Sunday, the 16th of December, he enters in his diary, that they were “ called up betwixt two and three o’clock by two young men that came out of Birstall parish, hearing I preached at three o’clock in the night. We rose. God helped in prayer ; near break of day I rode to J. B. ; preached there till twelve at noon.”

I conclude what I have to say on the present year with the following declaration, which he made in his private note-book on the 3rd of December:—"Dost thou repent that thou didst not conform, when fair offers were made thee at St. Martin's in York, many years ago, when thou wert under violent persecutions by the Spiritual Court? Dost thou not envy them that live in pomp and prosperity, and wish thyself in their condition? My soul shall answer, and upon good advertisement write it down this 3rd of December, 1683, above twenty-one years after our doleful turning out of our public station; that I am so well satisfied in my refusing subscription and conformity to the terms enjoined by law for the exercise of my public ministry, that, notwithstanding all the taunts, rebukes and affronts I have had from men, the weary travels many thousand miles, the hazardous meetings, plunderings, imprisonings, exercise of faith and patience about worldly subsistence, banishings from my own home, coming home with fears in the night,—which are the least part of my affliction under this dispensation,—for banishing from my people, stopping my mouth, which hath occasioned many sad temptations, discouragements, lest God should be angry with me, lay me aside, and make no use of me, which have caused many sad thoughts, griefs, and searchings of heart. Notwithstanding all this, I am so fully satisfied in my conscience with my Non-Conformity as a minister, that it is the way of God, and I have so much peace in my spirit that what I do is for the main, according to the word, that if I knew of all the troubles beforehand, and were to begin again, I would persist in this course to my dying day; and, if God call me to it, seal it with my blood. For, to me, full Conformity would be sinful, and we must resist to death, striving against sin."

1684.

This year was like the preceding, Mr. Heywood persisting in preaching, and the alarms becoming

more frequent and the danger of magisterial animadversion greater.

“ Sunday, March 23, in the morning, I durst not begin, because of the officers; they came about seven o'clock; showed me their warrant from the Judge of Assize to take up Conventiclors; they were civil. When they were gone I repeated to a few; went to chapel forenoon and after; at night preached Martha Bland's funeral sermon at Norwood-green.”

Amongst his journeys of this year was one among his friends in the south of Yorkshire, and extended to Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. After some days spent at Ravenfield with Mr. Westby, where almost every waking hour was spent in some manner of social worship or religious instruction, he went to his friends at Laughton and Walling-wells, and from thence to Mansfield, to visit Mr. Billingsley and Mr. Porter, two ministers who resided there. He consulted with Mr. Billingsley about placing with him J. Senior, a youth whom he wished to be educated for a minister. He visited also Mr. Whitlock and Mr. Reynolds, the two Nottingham ministers, who were then living at Mansfield, a non-corporate town, and Mr. Firth also, the vicar, who lived, as Calamy says, in great harmony with the Non-Conforming ministers who settled near him, “ accounting it no schism that they helped his people in the way to heaven.” He returned to Walling-wells, and so to Firbeck, where he kept a fast at Mr. Staniforth's, being assisted by Mr. Beebee, another Non-Conforming minister*. On May 1, he came to Ravenfield and Rotherham, where he received a legacy be-

* This Mr. Beebee was an Oxford man, and had been chaplain to the regiment of Colonel Knight in General Monk's army, Mr. Heywood's friend, Sir Ralph Knight. Calamy, who gives a good account of Mr. Beebee (*Continuation, &c.*, pp. 1000—1002), says, that he often preached after the Restoration in the house of Sir Ralph Knight, who is represented, on Mr. Beebee's authority, to have been in the secret of General Monk's design, and to have encouraged him when he felt the difficulty and danger with which it was beset.

queathed to him by Mrs. Clayton; and so to Mr. Gill's at Car-house. On the 3rd, he went to Attercliffe, where he visited Mr. Spencer, Mrs. Wright, and Mrs. Bloom. Then went on with Mr. Henry Gill and his wife to The Oaks at Norton, Mr. H. Gill's house*, where he spent two nights, praying and preaching in the family on the Sunday till twelve; again praying with a few; "but at four o'clock, after public work was over at Norton where Mr. Trickett preacheth, there were many neighbours, and I prayed and preached; Mr. Wood, Mr. Seddon and Mr. Rose, three ministers, stayed and discoursed with me." On the 5th, he went to Sheffield, where he visited Mr. Prime, and Mr. Rowland Hancock, who was then ill, and died in the April following, and so to Bull-house, and thence home.

The ministers whom we find engaged with Mr. Heywood in fasts and thanksgivings near his own home at this period were Mr. Dawson, Mr. Smith, Mr. Holdsworth, and Mr. Ray, who had succeeded Mr. Dawson at the Closes.

Tuesday, June 3, he preached a funeral sermon on the death of his friend, Mr. Cotes of Rawden. It was delivered at Idle at Thomas Ledyard's house, "to a considerable number of his hearers." He then rode to Bramhope to visit Mr. Dyneley, with whom he found Mr. Whitaker and Mr. Waterhouse of Bradford.

August 17, Sunday: "I began about five o'clock, went to prayer, read my text, but immediately Halifax

* Norton is a village in the north of Derbyshire, four miles from Sheffield, where most of the families, at this period, were Non-Conformists. Mr. Henry Gill was a brother of Colonel John Gill of Car-house, a family nearly related to Dr. Saunderson, the Bishop of Lincoln, whose life was written by Isaac Walton. Mr. Henry Gill's daughter and heiress married Mr. Bagshaw, and carried The Oaks to that family, in whom the estate still remains. There has been a Presbyterian congregation at Norton with a regular succession of ministers to the present time. They met for many years at the Hall, where resided the families of Offley and Shore, great patrons of Presbyterian Non-Conformity at Norton, and in all the parts around.

bailiffs came upon us, broke in upon us, scattered us ; showed me a warrant ; engaged me to appear before Justice Horton ; so went away. I went with my wife to James Titley's ; preached my sermon there to a few ; dined there ; came to the chapel ; went home ; preached at J. L.'s ; had a full assembly, great assistance, on Luke ii, 29, 30 : it was a sad, yet sweet day." Monday, in the morning, being to appear before the justice of peace : " God helped me mercifully by his Spirit to commend myself into his hands by a solemn hour of prayer, and then addressed myself to go ; met the bailiffs, who guarded me thither ; accused me there ; Mr. Horton was moderate ; bound me over to the Sessions ; J. P. and J. B. were sureties. I returned home with them to the joy of my friends and neighbours." Further,

On October 9, " rode to Wakefield ; called at Mr. Hawden's ; went to Mr. Hedlar's ; dined with J. K. and M. F. ; visited Mr. Root and others ; did business ; came to Mr. R. Harrison's ; lodged there that night ; slept little. Friday morning : arising, I was much helped in prayer, quickened, encouraged in the affairs of that solemn day ; blessed be God : visited Mr. Crook in the forenoon ; returned ; was called ; things went hopefully ; was dismissed ; came to my quarters ; gave God thanks : attended afternoon ; entered my traverse ; came back ; lodged at Mr. Harrison's ; God was very gracious. Saturday morning : God did touch my heart with the sense of mercy in secret."

1685.

Within two days of the close of 1684 he writes in a more desponding strain than usual of the difficulties of his situation. " At this time," says he, " I am under the heaviest circumstances as to my liberty of doing God service and good to souls, that ever I was in all my life. Men have broken in upon us and scattered our meetings ; indicted me for a riot at the Sessions. I am bound in

100*l.* to traverse and to be of good behaviour. My adversaries are watching me narrowly to find me forfeiting my bond. They have caught W. N. ; charged him to be witness against me ; are laying wait for others ; few dare own me. Providence seems to make against me ; and that which is the heaviest of all, it is an occasion of some difference betwixt me and my dear wife ; for she, being naturally timorous, when we are at any time above the number of four, she is perplexed exceedingly, though it be not purposely but providentially ; and when I am to go and preach abroad, she is under great affrightments, particularly last night when I went to W. H., lest we should be too many, and be discovered. And truly my zeal for God's glory and love for souls, and desire to do my Master's work on one side and endeared love for my wife, fears of being censured for rashness and indiscretion by prudent men, and making myself a prey to knaves on the other side, do so rack and torture my spirit that it almost makes me weary of my life ; and I am hard put to it that I know not what to do, but am oft forced to contradict my wife's mind to perform my promise. Sometimes God helps me by prayer to roll myself on God, and then I am easy. But, oh how oft am I at a loss !”

In a very short time after he penned these words he found himself in the prison from which he had been so long preserved by the forbearance of the magistracy and the good feeling of so many of his neighbours.

On January 16 he was convicted at the Sessions at Wakefield of a riotous assembly at his house. He was sentenced to pay a fine of fifty pounds, and to find sureties for his good behaviour, which meant that he would forbear from preaching. The latter he could not comply with consistently with his great governing principle, that it was his bounden duty to be diligent in preaching the Gospel ; and as on this account he must have been content to go to prison, he refused to pay the fine also,

though he took measures to obtain the remission of at least a portion of it.

We have in the diary an account, day by day, of what occurred at Wakefield, and afterwards of what passed while he was confined in the castle at York. On the 15th of January he went from his own house to Chick-enley on the way to Wakefield. He slept there at the house of one of his most valued friends, Mr. Josiah Oates, who accompanied him the next morning to Wakefield. The proceedings in court were soon over; and he was delivered to the bailiff to be kept in custody till the fine was paid and he had entered into the securities. On the next day a petition for the remission or abatement of his fine was read in open court, and the justices appeared willing to grant it, but only on condition of his promising to be of good behaviour, which meant the forbearance to exercise his ministry. On the Sunday he was allowed so much liberty as to go to the parish church in the morning, but his request to do so in the afternoon was denied. He remained at Wakefield in the hands of the bailiff till Friday the 23rd, on which day his mittimus to the castle of York was made out, and he was delivered into the hands of Joseph Lockwood, the York gaoler, who took his verbal engagement to surrender himself at the castle of York, delivering him to the intermediate charge of his two sons, who came to him that day, John, who was then domestic chaplain to Mr. Westby of Ravenfield, and Eliezer, who filled the same office in the house of Mr. Taylor of Walling-wells. They immediately set out towards York, and that night slept at Mr. Ralph Spencer's at Hunslet-hall near Leeds. At Leeds, as had been the case at Wakefield, he was cheered by the notice of several of his friends; but he pressed forward to York, which place he reached in the afternoon, and went to an inn. In the evening he went to the house of Sir John Hewley, and early on the next morning (Sunday), "after prayer, we walked to Sir

John Hewley's, where we spent that day. I prayed and preached in my lady's chamber, forenoon, on Psalm lxxiii, 25 *; God helped. Dined there; then went to church. After that I preached; then walked to visit Lady Hewet, Mr. Earnshaw, aunt Darcy; so returned to Thomas Fawber's." On the next day, at eleven o'clock, Joseph Lockwood, the gaoler, came, and took him and two other persons to the castle, and delivered him to James Butler, the head-gaoler. He "took leave of his sons that night in prayer with many tears."

He found his friend, Mr. Whitaker, in the castle, and the gaoler, who throughout treated him very courteously, placed him in a good lodging immediately over that which Mr. Whitaker occupied. His wife soon joined him.

Mr. Heywood remained in this place of confinement from January 26, 1685, to the 19th of December following; during which period the king, Charles the Second, died, on a day when there were rejoicings in York for his supposed recovery. Mr. Heywood's manner of life in prison was this:—

"(1.) After our rising, we kneeled down; I went to prayer with my wife; (2.) she in her closet, I in my chamber, went to secret prayer alone; (3.) then I read a chapter in the Greek Testament, while I took a pipe; (4.) then read a chapter in the Old Testament with Poole's Annotations; (5.) then writ a little, here, or elsewhere; (6.) at ten o'clock I read a chapter in Proverbs; went to prayer with my wife, as family prayer; (7.) then writ in some book or treatise I composed, till dinner; (8.) after dinner, Mr. Whitaker and I read our turns for an hour in Fox's Acts and Monuments, last edition; (9.) then went to my chamber; if my wife was absent I spent an hour in secret prayer; God helped usually; (10.) after supper we read in Book of Martyrs;

* The words are these: "*Whom have I in heaven but thee, and there is none upon earth that I desire beside thee;*" and surely no human being could ever make this appeal with more justice than Mr. Heywood. This would be felt by those who heard him.

study, go to prayer ; we read in Baxter's Paraphrase on the New Testament." Thus the two ministers lived like the martyrs in the Marian days, whose thoughts and sufferings were we see their daily theme, and with spirits, we cannot doubt, strung to the endurance of all which the martyrs suffered, had God called them to the last great conflict.

There can seldom be much to relate of a prisoner, the monotony of whose life constitutes a chief part of its irksomeness. Day answereth to day with little by which one can be distinguished from another. Yet a few extracts from the diary for this period may not be unacceptable :—

February 5 : Heard of the dreadful tumult in the city about the king ; 6, great joy there was for the king's restoration ; 10, being at prayer pleading with my Lord, I was interrupted with the news of the king's death, and presently after King James the Second was proclaimed king in the city and castle ; 19, prevented from preaching by the gaoler.

March 11, the assize week : " Went to the court, where I saw the Papists discharged upon entering recognizances, when the king called, to appear ; in afternoon attempts were made for me, truly in vain ; 13, my Lady Hewley visited me ; I prayed with her ; 14, my wife went to the funeral of old Mr. Coulton * ; 17, we presented our petition again to Judge Wright ; 23, all that forenoon we had abundance of visitors that came to the shout, which was about ten o'clock in the forenoon, for Clifford and king ; there was a great appearance ; 24, Mr. Frankland came to visit me ; 26, I wrote in a paper my sermon on Zech. ix, 11 ; sent it home to my people."

April 7, " I had the tidings that an Act of Grace was under the broad seal ; 8, I writ a letter to my people ;

* Probably father of Dr. Colton, the minister of the York Non-Conformists in the latter days of Lady Hewley, and her principal adviser and friend.

30, Sir W. [William] A. [Ascough], his lady, Mr. H., and others, visited us."

May 2 "was a day of great affection, prayers, tears, groans, and that because I had intelligence that nothing could be done at Sessions that week for my release."

July 26, "It was a mad night for ringing, shooting, bonfires, &c., in the city, being thanksgiving for victory; 30, cousin Angier prayed with me."

August 7, assize week: "My wife went to the judge and sheriff about my liberty; they put it off to each other; 9, my wife went to the high-sheriff for me; I sent her forth with prayer; when she was gone I followed her with prayer; God much melted my heart; was quieted, however things fell. She returned; nothing was done; I was satisfied; prayed with Francis Thompson, a condemned person; 14, talked with M. Taylor, that was to suffer, but had little satisfaction; 27, T. W. came to me, who had been with the high-sheriff, but could do no good for my liberty; he said the calendar was shut up."

October 1, "attending the funeral of Mr. Beresford, that kept the cellars; 29, finished my book of 'God's Title to Saints.'" This does not appear to have been printed.

December 19, "After dinner, while I was preparing to go to prayer alone, my wife being gone out, comes my liberation from Mr. Askil to Mr. Ash, our new gaoler, who set us at liberty. I and my wife walked out that night to Sir John Hewley's; returned, and lodged in the castle."

The day after his release, which was Sunday, he spent at Sir John Hewley's, where he preached in the family in the forenoon and after. He slept again that night at the castle, and the next day dined at Sir John Hewley's, and took his final leave of the castle of York.

There were other Non-Conformists prisoners at York; for on the Thursday he went to visit Mr. Ward and Mr. Taylor, who were prisoners, not in the castle, but in

Ouse-bridge gaol*. He dined that day with Lady Hewet. "Wednesday, went to Sir John Hewley with my wife. We spent the day in prayer and praise: Mr. Hodgson began; Mr. Ward†, my son Eliezer, then I, discoursed extempore on Psalm cxvi, 12, 'What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits towards me?' We went to Mr. Hotham's‡, lodged at Mr. Geldart's. On Thursday called on Mrs. Rhodes, Mrs. Todd, Mr. Reinard; dined at Sir W. Ayscough's; discoursed with his daughter; called at Mr. Rokeby's; went to Mr. Ward at the bridge; went to prayer with him. Friday, went to the castle, visited Mr. Whitaker. Returned to dine with Lawyer Rokeby§; went to visit Dr. Nicholson, Mrs. Cotes, Mrs. Blith; took leave of Lady Hewley; supped with Mr. Priestley." On Saturday he went to Mr. Hutton's at Poppleton, where, on the Sunday, there was a service in the house, when Mr. Todd preached, and they afterwards went to church. At the earnest entreaty of Mr. Hutton he stayed there on Monday to spend a day in prayer on account of his daughter, then going to be married to Mr. Earnshaw of York. "We gratified him; began at nine; Mr. Todd prayed; then Mr. Burdsal, their chaplain; then I spoke something extempore from Prov. iii, 6, and prayed; God helped; we had no disturbance." He did not return to York, but passed

* These were Mr. Ralph Ward, the ejected minister, of whom Dr. Calamy gives a long account (*Account, &c.*, p. 509), and Mr. Andrew Taylor, before mentioned, "that public-spirited merchant," says Calamy, "who opened his door for private meetings in the straitest times." Mr. Ward's daughter was the first wife of Dr. Colton, the Presbyterian minister at the chapel in Saint Saviour Gate.

† Not Ralph Ward, who was, as we have seen, in prison, but another Non-Conforming minister of that surname, Noah Ward, who resided at one of the Askham's-villages near York. There is a long notice of him in Calamy (*Account, &c.*, p. 835).

‡ This was Martin Hotham, a York merchant, who brought up one of his sons to the Presbyterian ministry, who was for fifty years and more one of the ministers of the chapel in Saint Saviour Gate.

§ Afterwards Sir Thomas Rokeby, the judge, the principal law-adviser of Lady Hewley.

through Acombe and Askham to Tadcaster, and from thence to Leeds, where he lodged at Mr. Robert Ledyard's. He arrived at home on the 30th at five o'clock, where he found company, amongst whom he went to prayer, thanking God for his mercy so far in letting him see his own house.

1686.

Early in this year he again visited his friends in the neighbourhood of Huddersfield and Peniston, and also Mr. Westby and the two Gills at Car-house and The Oaks in Norton. He was also on this journey at Laughton, Walling-wells, Langold the seat of Sir Ralph Knight, and Great Houghton. On his return he visited his friends in the neighbourhood of Wakefield, Mr. Kirk, Mr. Nailor, Mr. Oates, and Mr. Holdsworth.

In March he went to York on the business of his fine, when he lodged at the house of Sir John Hewley. "Wednesday morning, after Mr. Hodgson and I had performed our chamber-exercise and family duties in my lady's chamber, we went to Mr. Hart's coffee-house on Ouse-bridge to meet John Kirk, who gave an account that he had been with Mr. Ash, who stood on my fine of fifty pounds being paid." He remained several days at York, and went from thence to the Huttons at Poppleton. On his return he met at Tadcaster Mr. Wilson of Leeds, who carried him to his house, where Thoresby, who was brother-in-law to Mr. Wilson, joined him. He wished to have visited others of his friends, "but could not for being seen in that severe town."

In April he visited his friends in Lancashire. Most of these visits I have left unnoticed; by that means many names are omitted of persons who bore a large share of the hardships of the time, and were assistant in laying the foundations of the numerous Presbyterian societies which arose around Manchester and Bolton. According to what is the present taste of the public, which turns too much from minute and exact detail, I

feel that I shall incur censure, not so much for having omitted as for having introduced so many names ; men, it is confessed, of whom little that is of prominent or general interest can be told, but still men who are looked back upon by many with respect, and who when more time-honoured than yet they are will find some one who will be glad to gather up what respecting them I have left untold. But as we are about to lose the benefit of Mr. Heywood's diary for nine years to come, I shall venture to give the particulars of this visit as he has recorded them, in which are several names of the fathers of South Lancashire Dissent not before introduced to the reader.

April 14, to Rochdale ; lodged at widow Scoles' ; prayed with Roger Pendlebury, very weak in a dropsy ; and again on the 15th, when he died while Mr. Heywood was praying with him. Dined at R. Milnes' with Mr. Leaver, and then to Manchester : called at Mr. S. Gaskil's ; lodged at brother Hulton's ; visited aunt Russel and Mr. Finch ; preached at Mr. Barlow's to a few ; called on Mr. Lister ; rode to Duckenfield ; called on Sir Robert Duckenfield, thence to cousin Angier's, and preached at Duckenfield on the Sunday ; visited Mrs. Hyde, when " I was helped in prayer with that afflicted gentlewoman ; thence to Mr. Hyde's of Denton and Sir Robert Duckenfield's ; Mr. Bagot, the chaplain, went to prayer betimes in the family with the servants ; before dinner in the dining-room he read a chapter, expounded, went to prayer again, and neither morning nor evening asked or suffered me to go to prayer with the family ; we dined ; after dinner rode to Manchester." There he visited his cousins, Eaton and Marler, Mr. Newcome, and preached at Mr. Gathorne's ; dined at Mr. Hooper's. Thence, on his way to Bolton, he lodged at his brother Colborne's at Radcliffe-bridge, and at his sister Esther Whitehead's at Little Lever. From Bolton he travelled over the Moors to Mr. Mort's beyond Street-gate, and preached there. Returned to Bolton, visited his cousin Crompton ; attended an early meeting at cousin John

Scolcroft's. Went to Bury, where he dined at Mr. Samuel Waring's; thence to Mr. Hallows' near Rochdale.

So also of a visit in Craven:—

June 2, in Craven: "Dined at Thornton with Mr. Hough: thence to Marton Scar; visited Martha Mitchell: thence to Swindon; there met Mrs. Lambert, newly come from London; stayed awhile; rode with the coach that she was in to Calton, her house. She sent for neighbours. I preached on Mark x. 21; God graciously helped: lodged there. Thursday, came by Skipton and Silsden; dined at Thomas Leach's; called at Bingley; came to Joseph Lister's at Allerton; home."

In July he was again at York on the business of his fine, when he paid thirty pounds as a composition. He borrowed the money of Mr. Jonathan Priestley; but it appears by his own report that his friends did not suffer the year of his imprisonment to be one of pecuniary loss likewise.

On this visit to York his time was passed with the same persons, but especially with Sir John Hewley, who was at his seat at Bell-hall:—"Discoursed with Sir John Hewley; lodged there: Saturday, after dinner, Sir John, my lady, and I walked in the gardens; my motion was to spend some time in prayer that afternoon; my lady gladly accepted it, but Lord Howard's daughter came a visiting them, one Mr. Cayley, and others, so prevented us. I read that afternoon." On the next day he preached at the hall.

The diary closes on July 31, 1686. At that time he was cautious of preaching at home to more than the law allowed, and usually attended Mr. Ellison at the chapel. It is resumed in March 1695, when the Non-Conformists were in a very different position.

CHAPTER XV.

1687—1689.

THE CONDUCT OF THE PRESBYTERIAN MINISTERS IN THE PRECEDING STRUGGLE NOT SO MUCH ONE OF PRINCIPLE AS OF FEELING.—GENERAL VIEW OF THE OBJECTS OF THE STRUGGLE.—CLOSE OF IT.—KING JAMES' DECLARATION OF LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE.—ANOTHER ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE DISPENSING POWER.—OPPOSITION OF THE CHURCH.—MR. HEYWOOD'S REFLECTIONS AT THE CLOSE OF THE YEAR 1687.—MEASURES PURSUED UNDER THE LIBERTY GRANTED BY KING JAMES' DECLARATION; THREE ORDINATIONS; FOUNDATION OF THE CHAPEL AT NORTHOWRAM; OF THE SCHOOL THERE.—PUBLISHES HIS *BAPTISMAL BONDS*.—THE REVOLUTION.—THE TOLERATION ACT.—THE PRINCIPLE OF TOLERATION.—PROCEEDINGS UNDER IT OF THE NON-CONFORMISTS.—ANOTHER ORDINATION.—MR. CARINGTON.

THUS were five-and-twenty years of Mr. Heywood's life spent in an incessant struggle, and, as it appears, without any really great principle, or any very well-defined and important object in view.

The design of the Presbyterian ministers at first appears to have been to force the legislature to a condescension to their scruples and desires, and when this was nearly hopeless, to maintain their right, as a point of duty, to continue in the exercise of their ministry, though the law prohibited them from doing so. But of the great principles on which men's opinions in ecclesiastics are divided, and in which an entire agreement can never be hoped, we see but little in the contest between the Presbyterian party and the state. Thus, whether there shall be a National Church, or the whole of what concerns religious ministrations shall be left to the people an open

question, every one doing what seems right in his own eyes, and laying hold of as much as he can gain of the funds which the piety of our remote ancestors has provided for the maintenance of Christianity among us, and the acceptable performance of the Christian ordinances—this is indeed an important question; but it was no question between the Presbyterian ministers and the state, both being agreed on the importance and necessity of a national union in affairs connected with religion. Whether the Church shall be in the Episcopal or the Presbyterian order is of great importance to those who look upon episcopacy as of divine appointment, and are persuaded that there can be no true Church of Christ without it; but to a person like Mr. Heywood, who did not hold this opinion, or contend that there could be no true church but the Presbyterian, but only that the Presbyterian form was the more excellent form, and had the support to be derived from the practice of primitive times and the opinions of some of the most eminent of the reformers, it was a question of but inferior importance, in which a man might safely surrender his own judgment to the judgment of the majority, or at least feel that he was not called on to insist upon his own views on such a subject being enforced on the great majority of the people with whom he was united. The faith professed in the Church is also a point of great importance; but in this there was not the slightest shade of difference between Mr. Heywood and the Church, beyond that difference which there has always been and always will be in the most sincere members of the Church respecting the interpretation of one or more of the articles, and the precise effect of certain expressions in the creeds and formularies. The question of subscription to certain prescribed Articles of Belief from persons who are candidates for the ministry, came in a very short time to be one of great moment in the Non-Conforming controversy; but it was no question with Mr. Heywood, who

himself prepared articles of faith for his church, and took confessions of faith from the young ministers whom he ordained, and who would have not the slightest objection to subscription as subscription, or to subscription to the Articles in the main. If the Presbyterians at this time opened the way to the progress of Christian truth and the advance of theological science, that was rather the accidental consequence of their conduct than any object which they had in their contemplation; and the mass of them of the age of Mr. Heywood would probably have shrunk back in alarm from the thought that they were but preparing the way for the open promulgation of opinions very different from those which they had themselves received. In the mode in which the Christian ordinances were to be administered, there is nothing which rises to the dignity of a principle in the objections which were made, some of which appear mere cavils, some mere ignorances of the design and purport of them, and none which were at all worthy to enter into a wise man's calculation when he was meditating on any question so important as whether he shall oppose himself to national union in a case in which union and peace are so much to be desired, and whether he shall in his conduct set the example of perpetual violation of public law. The question of a liturgical form in public worship, or the use of free prayer, is one in which it can hardly be said that any great principle is involved; it is rather a question of taste and feeling: some minds will be found who prefer the one, and others will be more edified by the other; but it was no matter to found an opposition to a national union upon, for take whichever side we may, were the nation polled, there would be found an immense minority, who, if there is to be a church at all, must in this point not follow their own inclinations, but succumb to the determination of other minds. The special objections taken by them to certain things in the Liturgy of the English Church are but of the same character

(with hardly an exception *) with the objections to forms, offices, vestments, and gesture, and were certainly unworthy to be made the ground of such an opposition as was made to them, especially when the reasonable admission is made, that objections quite as strong might easily be taken to expressions in the extemporaneous addresses of the Puritan ministry, and that there can be nothing in this world, of immaculate purity and absolute perfection.

In the question of the king's supremacy in the English Church, it does not appear that there were at that time scruples in the minds of the Presbyterians, whatever might be the case with the Independents, who were opposed to the monarchical principle both in ecclesiastics and politics. And in all the questions of revenue which have of late years so much distracted the Church, Mr. Heywood would have had no reduction of the amount of the in-

* I cannot enter here into the detail of this argument, but I shall briefly notice two of the most prominent of the objections taken to expressions in the public Liturgy by the Puritans, and which have continued to be stumbling-blocks among their descendants. In the marriage service,—“With all my worldly goods I thee endow.” What! go and profess at the altar in the most solemn manner, that you endow the woman with your whole worldly estate, when you know that you have made settlements of it the day before which nullify this dotation? This arises entirely from a misunderstanding of the true nature of the transaction. The previous settlements took out of the hands of the husband certain portions of his property. They might be wisely framed, or the contrary; but in all probability the act was reasonable, proper, and just. The property thus assigned was, however, no longer his when he appeared at the altar, and what he then endows the wife with is that which remained *his*; and in this the Liturgy wisely requires him to give, in the most solemn manner, an absolute participation to her whom he takes in this indissoluble union. In the burial service,—“As our hope is this our brother does.” What! say this over the most abandoned profligate, who has lived the enemy of his family and the world? A funeral is not a time to dwell upon the faults of the silent child of humanity whose dust and ashes are before us; and to my mind, to take this out of the service would be to deprive it of one of its most touching and sublime expressions, one also that is full of the spirit of Christian charity, and of confidence in the eternal mercies of God.

*The Author
being an
Universalist*

come which is provided for the support of those who minister in sacred things, or the way in which it arises, in which he would recognise an adherence to Scripture, though he might have objected to the too unequal distribution of it. With respect to the mode in which the appointment of ministers should be made, I have not observed anything very decisive as to his opinion on that point; but he would probably incline to what was soon afterwards the general feeling of the Non-Conformist body, that the people to whom he was to minister should elect the person who ministered, regard being had to his having previously received ordination at the hands of a body of presbyters; but this was never made any point of principle by the elder ministers, few of whom had held their benefices by the election of the people.

We shall shortly have to speak of the conduct of the Church in respect of the great political question of the seventeenth century, the just limits of the royal prerogative. We have seen the Non-Conforming clergy refusing an oath which admitted too much; here, it may be said, was a great political principle: but then we have also seen that they allowed of the dispensing power, and we shall immediately see that they acknowledged that power on a more serious occasion, when the Church stood manfully against it, and gained the honour of having saved the country at once from the establishment of that principle, and probably from the introduction of popery. So that even here there was at least a vacillation in their political conduct, which detracts from the respect which is paid to men who stand forward in a consistent opposition to that which endangers the liberties and the best interests of their country.

In the ground of Presbyterian dissent at the beginning there appears therefore to have been more of feeling than of principle, I mean what may be called of high general principle, applicable to their times and to the times of their successors, unless indeed we account their high deference to Scripture a principle, and the imprac-

ticable design of bringing everything in a Christian profession to the exact measure of Scripture an object, a principle common to all the Protestant communities, and therefore not characteristic of any. A main point was the re-ordination, a mere temporary and transient affair, passing away with the generation of those who were ejected, had they not thought proper to introduce a second race into the ministry by the same kind of ordination. But this was rather feeling than principle, a something at least in which human considerations mingled with those of a higher and purer quality, or at best a preference of one mode, between two, in which the advantage is not very apparent and decisive on either side. That there was throughout this long struggle a lingering hope, that by a steady perseverance they should at length succeed in forcing themselves back into the Church on their own terms, or on something near them, can hardly be doubted; and there was throughout the struggle in very strong operation, that feeling which always arises in the mind of the oppressed when they are conscious to rectitude of intention and propriety of action, but which rises the highest when a man appears to himself and to his friends to be a sufferer for conscience sake, to be brought to bonds and imprisonment because he feels it his duty to pursue a certain course in obedience to what appears to him to be the command of a power who has an unlimited right to his entire obedience, and acts according to his high conviction.

Whether their zealous preaching when the law prohibited it is to be regarded as the result of principle or of feeling, may admit of a question. If they had accepted the terms proposed in the Act of Uniformity, they might still have preached as energetically and as efficiently as they did when they had refused those terms. Perhaps a sober judgment would say, that such restraints as that law laid upon ministers were on the whole favourable; for it can hardly be that Christianity requires, for the prevalence of its holy influences, that there shall

be such incessant ministrations and such lengthened services. We must admire the zeal and energy of Mr. Heywood, and it becomes the more admirable when, in the secret memorials of what passed in his own mind, we see that he was acting throughout with a constant reference to Him who looketh on the heart, and doing what he did on a high sense and feeling of duty. *Væ mihi, si non prædicavero!* This, as I have already said, was in this point his guiding star. But this is feeling, not principle.

He held, however, that such a ministry as his was eminently needed in those particular times. His persuasion of the inadequacy of the ministry provided by the Church in the ordinary parish order, to restrain the flood of immorality which set in at the Restoration, shows itself not unfrequently, from which the inference is direct to the necessity of a ministry irregular but faithful, unrestrained by any foreign power, and directed by the solitary determination of men in earnest in combating with sin. We are not perhaps in a condition to estimate with precision the validity of this consideration. Nothing is more difficult than to estimate, with any degree of exactness, the actual amount of religious principle and virtuous action in large bodies of men, and to compare in this respect the men of one period of time with those of another. But it can hardly be doubted that the reign of King Charles the Second was a period in which there was a great debasement of the public morals. The state of the court is matter of history; but history seems not to have delivered down to us an exact relation of what was the conduct of the divines about the court, whether they spoke faithfully, as became them, or no. And an unfaithful ministry is surely a greater evil in a country than any excesses with which the Puritan ministers may be charged in the length, the frequency, or the solemnity of their addresses.

At any rate, it cannot be denied that they found a craving in the minds of many of their countrymen, and

those of the most sober and religious character, for a more exciting ministry than that which the Church at that period supplied.

The evil, natural and moral, which was occasioned by this protracted conflict, is a subject of unmixed grief, whether it is referred to too great pertinacity on the part of the ministers who were ejected, or to an unreasonable and unjust attempt to force compliance on the part of the authorities of the time ; and greatly is it to be regretted that some wise man had not arisen who had sagacity to discern the means by which opposing principles could be reconciled, and influence sufficient to induce compliance. With respect to the Presbyterians, there was so much in common with the Church, that it seems as if it might have been accomplished, the Church making a temporary sacrifice to the position in which the ministers ordained between 1645 and 1660 were placed, on whose deaths much of the difficulty surrounding the question would have passed away. But the excitement of the preceding period would not have subsided, leaving the Church entire ; for if the Presbyterians were reconciled, there were still the Independents, and the Quakers, and the Anabaptists, beside a few very small sects, who would still have remained as separate communities ; and this it was which probably made the politicians of the time less solicitous about the comprehension of the Presbyterians.

We should, however, mistake if we were to suppose that such a life as that which we have seen Mr. Heywood to have led was necessarily an unhappy one. Whether he took a just view of what was required of him, or was in this mistaken, he had the satisfactions which always belong to those who are conscious that they have done their duty, when the call is to the sacrifice of something which is valuable. He had also the satisfaction of finding himself respected and honoured by many whose opinion he greatly valued, and he had the sweeter satisfaction of that cordiality of affection which is seldom purer or

more delightful than when it springs out of community of religious sentiment or a sense of common suffering for a common cause. He had also the satisfaction of finding his public services most acceptable to the people wherever he laboured, and occasionally of receiving cheering proofs of the success of his labours. I do not find that he had any misgivings respecting the course which he had taken, or any doubts of any kind that perplexed him, save that humble estimate of his own self, which was a part of his character from the time when it first began to be developed and continued to the last, and that deep anxiety, so amiable when sincere, "lest, when having preached to others, he himself should be a castaway." In respect of his own public conduct, in respect of his faith in Christ and trust in God, he had no uncertainty, and in what was most peculiar in the course he took, he felt that he had the support which the example of many wise and virtuous men gave who made similar sacrifices, and offered a like resistance against unchristian laws.

I proceed, however, with more satisfaction in thus detailing the events of Mr. Heywood's life, and the changing policy of the state by which he was affected, now we are arrived at the period when the struggle is over, when terms of peace are settled, and an entirely new order of things is introduced. First, an indirect policy of King James the Second gave the ministers the liberty they desired; and next, it was fully assured to them by one of the first acts of the legislature when King James had been driven from his throne, and the crown was transferred to King William and Queen Mary.

That King James had no particular regard for Protestant Non-Conformity will easily be believed; that his purpose was to reunite the English Church to the Roman Catholic Church is hardly to be questioned; and that he expected to combat the opposition which the Church would make to his design, by giving to the Non-Conformists a common interest with the Papists, seems

sufficiently probable. But whatever might be his object, he adopted a measure in the year 1687, which gave greater liberty to the Non-Conformists than had been given by the Indulgence of 1672, and even greater liberty than was secured to them by law in the succeeding reign. To this he knew that he should never obtain the consent of Parliament: he had therefore recourse to the dispensing power, as his brother had before him. But he proceeded with more deference to law, for he submitted the question of his right to dispense with the penal laws against persons not members of the Church to the judges, ten of whom decided that he possessed it. On this he signified to the Council, "That although there had been many endeavours made to establish a uniformity of religious worship in the reigns of four of his predecessors, yet they had all proved ineffectual; that the restraint upon the conscience of Dissenters had been very prejudicial, as was fully experienced in the rebellion against his royal father; that the penal laws made against them, especially those in the reign of his predecessor, had tended rather to increase than to diminish the number of them; and that nothing could more conduce to the peace and quiet of the kingdom, and an increase of the number as well as trade of his subjects, than an entire liberty of conscience." On the foundation of these principles he issued a Declaration for Liberty of Conscience on the 4th of April, 1687, allowing the most unlimited right of public worship, and ordered the Attorney and Solicitor General not to permit any process to issue against any Dissenters whatever for acts of Non-Conformity.

This was received by the Dissenters with abundant satisfaction. Addresses flowed in from every part of the kingdom, in which they expressed their thankfulness for the liberty granted them. They thus acknowledged the dispensing power again, which was, in fact, an acknowledgement of a power little less than arbitrary; they also endangered at least the interests of Protestantism out of regard to securing their own liberty. Not but that there

was in reality the same aversion from Popery and from arbitrary power as had existed in their fathers, and their addresses were cautiously worded accordingly, and their co-operation in the measures which removed the king from the throne was as zealous as that of any party. In considering their conduct at this juncture, great allowance ought also to be made for the peculiarity of their situation. They deemed the liberty the Declaration gave them their undoubted right, and it was not to be expected that they would scan too scrupulously the means by which it was given them, with no suggestion or solicitation of their own. The king could not mistake their addresses, which pledged them to nothing more than the peaceable use of the liberty he had been pleased to grant. But still it cannot be denied that they countenanced the sovereign in this most dangerous stretch of power.

The king committed, what for himself was a fatal error, in departing in one point from the precedent of 1672. The Declaration of that year was published in the usual form, but King James required the concurrence of the Church. He commanded that his Declaration should be read in all the churches and chapels of the realm. This must have been either in ostentation of power, or with the design of humiliating the Church. There were many churchmen who had preached the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance in the preceding reign, who might, on their own principles, have been expected to comply; but the fact was, that the Church, with an almost unanimous consent, refused to read the Declaration, and seven of the bishops presented a petition, in person, to the king, praying that they and their clergy might be excused from reading it, and making in their petition the honest and memorable statement, that the dispensing power had often been declared to be illegal in Parliament. This petition was charged as libellous; but a jury, on their trial, acquitted them. The king was intending to proceed against some of the inferior

clergy for their disobedience, but it was soon evident that the Prince of Orange was meditating a descent, and the Church, united by this common opposition (with a few exceptions), gave him welcome.

Then it was that the Church appeared as it had done in earlier times, a safety and bulwark to the nation in respect of its political freedom; and the Non-Conformists must have felt that the chief glory of the victory which liberal principles then obtained was the due of the Church which they had abandoned, and that they were rather the auxiliaries than the principals.

Mr. Heywood's reflections at the close of the year let us into the views of a minister living far from the court, and intent on the duties of his calling, respecting the Declaration:—

“ January 13, 1687–8, having been abroad three days preceding in preaching-work, I fell to review the passages of the preceding year, and do find they all do lay a further and stronger obligation upon me to be the Lord's:— (1.) This may be called *annus mirabilis*, the wonderful year, and from this time it may be said, What hath God wrought, principally in the liberty of the Gospel in these three nations? All persons expected a greater restraint than formerly, and there was great cause to expect a sudden desolation or violent persecution from the popish party, that had long waited for and now at last obtained a prince of their own religion. But behold the contrary. There comes forth the king's Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, dated the 4th April 1687, wherein he declares a suspension of all penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, and free liberty to Dissenters to preach; whereupon ministers and people did generally accept this liberty, addressed the king with gratitude, entered into their meeting-places, preached the Gospel freely, had numerous assemblies, which liberty hath continued this year out. We have Sacraments, solemn ordination of ministers, conferences, and exercises set up on week-days, discipline, and no disturbance in any thing. O

what a change! Surely somebody hath laid hard siege at the throne of grace; and I can truly say, without vanity, in this hath my dear Lord graciously answered my importunate prayers, and given me, in particular, a token for good. (2.) Though withal popish meeting-places have been set up in many parts of the kingdom, and at first some for novelty did frequent them, yet few, yea very few, anywhere have turned to them, but some, I hear, have turned off from them since they opened their fopperies more freely; on the other hand, godly Dissenters have gained ground and grown more numerous than ever; so that at Chipping, Wyresdale, Poulton, &c. in Lancashire, meetings are set up where never were any before, even in popish places, as I have been informed this week, so that Papists and Quakers complain nobody is a gainer by this liberty but Presbyterians; blessed be God! (3.) God hath raised up a great number of young ministers; I have had a hand in setting apart five very hopeful young men this last year, and six were set apart publicly amongst a great assembly at the meeting-place at W., and others elsewhere, besides several young candidates that began to preach this year and are in full employment, that wait for an opportunity to be set apart regularly for God's work; Aaron's rod hath budded blossoms and almonds; blessed be God, this also is an answer of prayer. (4.) There hath been an attempt made this year to try who would give consent for taking off tests and penal laws; nobility and commons have generally declared themselves in a negative, from an universal jealousy that that's a step to Popery, against which there is a strange antipathy among country people; yea, the High Church of England men say the Dissenters must either stick to them in this or they are undone; yea, 't is verily thought this will be an occasion of greater union amongst both parties than hath been; this is *digitus Dei*. (5.) In Scotland, that distrest peeled nation, there's a wonderful change of affairs; free liberty granted, meeting-places erected, manv

built, banished ministers restored out of all parts of the world, meetings wonderfully frequented by persons of all ranks and degrees, so that I have heard of earls sitting in meetings among the common people, their classical and provincial meetings celebrated, frequented, so that it is like a new world both to them and us, whatever be the meaning of this providence; and these things are the more strange, considering the severity still used against the Protestants in France: it is said 1500 fled into England from thence this year."

We must now resume our account of Mr. Heywood's proceedings; and shall speak first of the ordination services to which he alludes.

The first was to set apart Mr. Robert Chaderton, born near Middleton, and brought up for a little time at Brazen-nose College; returned into Lancashire and was an assistant in a school at Middleton, but became a preacher, and was received as chaplain into the family of Mr. Serjeant of Stand in Pilkington, near Manchester, where he married the daughter of William Walker of that place. "This man," Mr. Heywood proceeds, "having preached much in many places up and down the country with multitudes flocking after him and great applause amongst the vulgar, and having been violently persecuted by the Spiritual Court, excommunicated, imprisoned at Lancaster, when he got his liberty, still went on preaching abundantly, and it is verily thought by some Christians that he hath been an instrument of convincing and converting many souls; this man hath laid wait for speaking to me when I came over into Lancashire, that I might be one to send him into the Lord's vineyard, because, as he hath acknowledged, God made me an instrument of doing his soul good when I preached at Underwood, near Rochdale, fourteen years ago." He applied to Mr. Heywood, and, after some consideration, it was settled that the ordination should take place at widow Colbourn's house at Outwood-gate, near Stand, on the 12th of May. On that day Mr. Heywood, Mr. Pendle-

bury and Mr. Robert Eaton met, two other ministers who were expected disappointing them. "Mr. Eaton began with prayer. I asked Mr. Chaderton whether he had a thesis ready to dispute upon? He answered, he had not: he wanted time. I desired him to go to prayer, and then give us the heads of the last sermon he had preached, which he did; I confined him to half an hour. He gave us an account of what he had preached on Luke xix. 44, 'Because thou knowest not the time of thy visitation:;' it was a good profitable discourse. Then I asked him of his knowledge in the Hebrew, Greek; to give me the Greek of his text; he did so, but confessed his ignorance in Hebrew. I also examined him in logic, philosophy, but found him somewhat defective; in church-history, &c., wherein he had not been much conversant. I proceeded to the authors he had read in divinity, and then propounded a question in Latin about justification, *An Fides sit conditio justificationis?* He held faith's instrumentality to justification, which I opposed. Then inquired his ends in undertaking the ministry, evidences of grace in his soul, continuance in the work of God all his days, &c., which he answered honestly. Then I put him on making a confession of his faith, which he did very methodically, distinctly and satisfactorily. Then he kneeled down before us, and I went to prayer over him, laying my hand on him, the other ministers standing by and joining in that work. Then Mr. Pendlebury gave the exhortation learnedly and accurately; (1.) showing the office of the ministry; (2.) the manner how to discharge it; (3.) the relation to the people: then went to prayer and pronounced a blessing, and so we finished that solemnity between four and five o'clock. Then we subscribed our hands to a certificate, that we knew he was set apart to the ministry according to scripture rule. There were present six or seven Christian friends. I could have desired more had been with us, but my brethren were not willing."

Mr. Chaderton's race was soon run. In July he re-

moved to Lancaster, to be the settled minister of the Non-Conformists in that town. When he had been a month there he became ill; was brought, with difficulty, to the Old Hall at Stand, where his wife was, on August 30; there he languished for a few weeks, and then died. He was buried at Prestwich, October 15, 1687; there was great lamentation for him. Mr. Walker preached his funeral sermon.

“The next business of that nature that we were concerned in was more solemn, and, to me, more satisfactory than any of the former. Mr. Frankland and I being together at Attercliffe (where he now lives), April 21, 1687, we appointed the time of our next meeting to be at my house, June 1, to perform the like solemnity; and the persons to be ordained were, Mr. Matthew Smith, my son Eliezer, Mr. Edward Byrom, my cousin Samuel Angier, and cousin Nathaniel Heywood. In the mean time Mr. Frankland was to send to cousin Samuel Angier and Mr. Byrom, and I was to send to the rest; and we sent them theses to position and dispute upon, and gave them instructions to bring certificates and what else would be expected from them.” A difficulty arose with respect to Mr. Smith, who preached to two congregations, the one at John Hanson’s in Mixenden, where the people were exceedingly desirous that he should be ordained in the manner proposed; but the people of the other congregation, at Mr. John Hall’s at Kipping, near Thornton, who had been the first to give him a call into this country, being of the Congregational persuasion, put a stop to the proceeding; not that they were so much averse to its being done by the ministers, but they thought it ought to be in the midst of his own congregation. The issue was, that Mr. Smith’s ordination was postponed.

On the first of June, the four other candidates appeared at Mr. Heywood’s house at Northowram, and Mr. Frankland, Mr. Dawson, Mr. James Bradshaw, Mr.

John Heywood and Mr. Issot, who with Mr. Heywood were to perform the work. Mr. Sharp, who was expected, disappointed them. Mr. Frankland began with prayer; the candidates were then required to read part of the first Psalm, and turn it into Latin, which they did; then the same with a portion of the Greek Testament; they were then examined in logic, philosophy, chronology, and what authors they had read in divinity. Mr. Frankland required them to give some account of the grace of God in them, and their aims and grounds which moved them to enter into that sacred office. In answer to these inquiries they all spoke very seriously and humbly, and gave great satisfaction. Their theses were then read, in which Mr. Byrom run out to great length on the doctrine of purgatory, as he did also in his confession of faith, in which he entered into many controversies. Mr. Heywood thought him long; but Mr. Frankland expressed his satisfaction that God had raised up young men to be so well armed against Arminians, Socinians, and others. They were then examined on their intentions of constancy, of maintaining discipline, concord in the church, care of their families, and the like. The ministers then proceeded to the imposition of hands: "My son, being their senior, was first called forth, and, kneeling down on a cushion in the middle of my meeting-house floor, I first went to prayer over him, and once more (as I had done many a time) gave him up to the Lord in that sacred office. God did greatly melt my heart in that duty." The last on whom hands were laid was Nathaniel Heywood. Mr. James Bradshaw prayed over him "with some more than ordinary concernedness, reflecting on his dear father, my gracious and loving brother." When they were risen up, "I delivered to them all particularly the Holy Bible, intimating thereby their receiving commission and authority from Christ to expound and apply the Scriptures, &c.; and Mr. Frankland thought fit we should take them by the hand and

express our willingness thereby to give them the right hand of fellowship*." The exhortation was delivered by Mr. Heywood, who founded it on Numbers xvii. 10, the favourite text on such occasions, "Aaron's rod budding, blossoming, and yielding almonds," but which was peculiarly appropriate on this occasion, when of the four persons admitted to the ministry, one was his own son, another his brother's son, and a third of the family of his father-in-law, John Angier. They then went to prayer; the 132nd Psalm was sung, and then the blessing. A certificate was given them. Several candidates for the ministry and other persons were present.

Mr. Smith was ordained alone, on the 19th of August, by Mr. Heywood, Mr. Dawson, and Mr. Waddington; the place, John Bury's, Shuckden-head, near Thornton, and not either of the places at which he was the minister; but a place equally distant from both. The service was conducted in the same manner as the preceding, including the imposition of hands, the delivery of the Bible and the giving the right hand of fellowship. Mr. Smith presented among his testimonials his diploma of M.A. from the University of Edinburgh. He was a native of York, and had been brought up for the most part by Mr. Ralph Ward, the ejected minister. He was afterwards, as we shall see, the first minister who intro-

* This clause is remarkable, as showing that *typical actions* were in use among them, though it seems to have been a principle of the Puritans to account typical actions superstitious; for what are ceremonies—what, for instance, the sign of the cross in baptism, which was one of the ceremonies against which the Presbyterians had a particular aversion—but a *typical action*? and to the full as appropriate as the delivery of the Bible and the shaking of the hands. This giving the right hand of fellowship was long after practised at ordinations, by persons of Puritan descent, in America, and has lately been introduced again in such kind of services among the English Presbyterians, who seem to have entirely forgotten that it had ever been practised in the genuine ordinations by their forefathers, when they supposed themselves only imitating the Presbyterians of America, in whom much of the feeling and principle of the earlier Puritans of England still remains.

duced opinions deemed heretical among the Non-Conformists of this part of Yorkshire.

Mr. Heywood notices that Mr. Sagar was ordained about this time in the parts of Lancashire about Blackburn. He was unable to attend at another ordination to which he was invited, which was held at Attercliffe, near Sheffield, on September 11, 1688, when Mr. Frankland, Mr. Prime, Mr. Dawson, Mr. Timothy Jollie, and other ministers, set apart, with four others, Mr. Abraham Dawson (son to Mr. Dawson), Mr. Manlove, and Mr. Aldred, who were all ministers of note in the body*.

In this year, 1687, Mr. Heywood published another of his practical works, entitled, 'Baptismal Bonds Renewed.'

It was during the state of liberty which the Dissenters enjoyed under King James's Declaration that Mr. Heywood built his chapel at Northowram. This shows at once his own impatience to make use of every opportunity, and the confidence which he felt in the stability of the liberty which the Declaration gave. Hitherto his congregation had met in a room of his own dwelling-house. It was in this room that the ordination had taken place, and it is of this room that mention is made when we have hitherto spoken of his meeting-house. But now he determined upon erecting a building expressly constructed for the purpose, and the site chosen was at a small distance from his dwelling, where his generous neighbour, William Clay, gave a piece of land for the purpose, and also engaged to find all the stone that would be required. The people were backward in giving their assistance; only a few of them constructed pews for themselves. The burthen fell chiefly on Mr. Heywood, who set peo-

* Mr. Abraham Dawson was the minister at Stannington, near Sheffield, in the early period of his life, the greater part of which was passed as the minister at Cottingham, near Hull. The scenes of Mr. Manlove's labours were, Pontefract, Leeds and Newcastle, but he died early in life. Mr. Aldred was long the minister at Monton, near Manchester, where he was held in very high esteem.

ple to work to get the stone on January 25, 1687-88, and the work proceeded so rapidly that it was finished by July, and on the 8th of that month Mr. Heywood preached in it the first sermon. At the end of the year he writes thus:—"I have had twenty-eight Lord's days comfortably in it; numerous assemblies; great privileges: blessed be God! I laid out almost sixty pounds upon it, and do not repent, however things go for the future. I must say, as David, 'Who am I, that I should be able to offer so willingly after this sort?'" In another place he says that William Clay assured the land to him and his; it was a corner of a field belonging to him, by Well-Butts; that his cousin Hilton gave him ten pounds towards the work, other friends ten pounds more. His wife was the supervisor. He did not "mark the marble with his name," but he placed over the door a cypher in which were the letters O. and H., with the date, 1688, rather tastefully combined, and in such a manner that persons might frequently gaze upon the cypher, without perceiving that it had any relation to the name of the founder*.

And here, though it is a little in anticipation as to the order of time, may be mentioned that Mr. Heywood did another good public service for the people of Northowram. His own account of it is this:—"Another contrivance I had in my heart, which was to build a school. Mr. Joseph Hall, who owneth Northowram-Green, was willing to give me ground of ten yards square. We set it out. He gave me stone for getting, in Roger Stock's delph. William Clay, Robert Ramsden of Quarles, Jeremiah Baxter, junior, and I undertook it.

* Thoresby, in his *Diary* (8vo, i. p. 256), relates a pleasing anecdote of this dissenting chapel:—"1694, April 13: Rode to Mr. Priestley's, and in return to Mr. Heywood's at Northowram; was pleased with the chapel himself lately built there for his people; into which, he told me, the late Vicar of Halifax, my good friend Mr. Hough [successor to Dr. Hooke, who died in 1689], entering with him, put off his hat, and, with fervency, uttered these words: 'The good Lord bless the word preached in this place.'"

I gave five pounds at first, promised other seven pounds, for building it; we are not yet certain what it lies in, but it is finished; and Mr. David Hartley, born in Halifax, an Oxford scholar in Lincoln College, came to teach school October 5, 1693. On the 7th of December he had fifteen scholars; he was industrious; on the 30th of January he had 27." Mr. Heywood prevailed upon Lord Wharton to maintain six poor scholars at this school, allowing twenty shillings each per year, of which sixteen went to the master, and the other four were reserved by Mr. Heywood to buy books. Mr. Hartley, the first master, was the father of a celebrated son, Dr. David Hartley, a physician, author of the work entitled 'Observations on Man.'

Little remains in Mr. Heywood's papers to show how he felt and what he thought in respect of the great political movement which now immediately ensued and placed King William on the throne of England, and that little is in no respect remarkable. His mind was fixed on one point, the liberty of preaching, and it was indifferent to him whether this liberty came by a royal Declaration or by an Act declaratory of the national will; and he would rejoice in that great measure, which was one of the first of the new reign, chiefly as it would enhance the sense of security in respect of the permanence of the liberty which the Declaration gave him. He looked only to the immediate benefit; nor does it appear to have entered his mind, that while the Act of Toleration secured to him and his brethren the liberty which they coveted of preaching, it extinguished their chance of re-incorporation with the Church, and fixed them for ever in the rank of sectaries, to stand side by side with the Independents, the Anabaptists and the Quakers, men to whose distinguishing principles, if to nothing else, the Presbyterians had a strong, and not very unreasonable aversion.

The Act of Toleration '*Primo Gulielmi et Mariæ*,' cap. 18, which is regarded as the great charter of the

liberties of the Non-Conformists, is entitled, 'An Act for exempting their Majesties' Protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the penalties of certain Laws.'—It declares that the Statutes of 23 Eliz., c. i, 29 Eliz., c. 6, 1 Eliz., c. 2, § 14, (which is the Statute by which a penalty of 12*d.* is imposed for each day's absence from the Sunday service at Church,) 3 James, c. 3 and 4, and 5, shall not be construed to extend to Dissenters who take the Oath of Allegiance, make the Declarations against the Pope's power to excommunicate, &c., and against transubstantiation and other Popish doctrines; nor are they to be liable to the penalties of the Acts 35 Eliz., c. 1, or 22 Charles II., c. 1. (which was the severe Act against Conventicles), nor is any prosecution to be instituted against them, in any Ecclesiastical Court, for Non-Conformity to the Church of England. They are not, however, when they meet in conventicles, to hold such meetings with the doors locked, nor are they to be excused from the payment of tithe or Church dues: if chosen constables or churchwardens, and they scruple to take the oaths, they may appoint a deputy.—Then, as to ministers, they were to take the Oath and make the Declarations before prescribed for the laymen, and, in addition, to subscribe to the Articles of Religion of the Church of England, except the 34th, 35th and 36th*, and these words of the 20th,

* One looks with surprise at the scruple against the 34th Article, which few of the descendants of these men would not now regard as remarkably sensible and liberal, and jealously constructed as to maintaining respect for Scripture. It is entitled, 'Of the Traditions of the Church,' where, under the word Traditions, Ceremonies and Rites are included. There is throughout the Article the most evident desire evinced to keep close to Scripture in everything respecting them, but leaving a liberty to vary them according to circumstances when the Church desired the change. What could be more moderate or judicious than this? The 35th Article directs that the Homilies be read, and declares that they contain "a godly and wholesome doctrine," to which no very serious objection could be made. The 36th touched the point of ordination, and might be objected to, but only by persons who held *Episcopal ordination invalid*. There might

“ The Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith : and yet,” and this done, to be exempted from the penalties of 17 Charles II., c. 2 (the Five Mile Act), and 22 Charles II., c. 1, and from the 100*l.* fine of the Act of Uniformity. The places of meeting are to be certified to the bishops or archdeacons, or to the justices of the peace at the General or Quarter Sessions, and to be registered. There are clauses especially framed for the benefit of the Anabaptists and Quakers ; and it is declared that the benefit of the Act shall not extend to persons denying the doctrine of the Trinity.

These, then, were the terms on which this long contest was brought to a close. No condescension was made to any scruple or opinion of the Presbyterians or of any other part of the Non-Conforming body, but the general administration of ecclesiastical affairs was to proceed as heretofore ; or, in other words, the Church was to remain as it had been established in the reign of Edward the Sixth, and restored, after its temporary overthrow, by the Act of Uniformity. On the other hand, the Non-Conforming persons were now recognised by law, and were no longer to be interrupted in their religious course, but might proceed in whatever way to themselves seemed proper ; the State only requiring of them that they should take the Oath of Allegiance as it was then newly modified and made consistent with the liberal spirit of the English constitution, and make the Declarations against Popery, which were supposed necessary for the security of a Protestant government. Their meeting-houses were, however, to be registered, and the doors to be kept open to all comers in times of divine service ; and the ministers, in addition to the before-mentioned

be who held Presbyterian ordination valid, and as worthy to be admitted to confer privileges and transmit spiritual grace as Episcopal ordination ; but we have not met with any expression of opinion that ordination by bishops was no ordination at all, which is the effect of objecting to the 36th Article.

Oath and Declarations, were to subscribe the body of the Articles of the Church.

The exception of persons who did not hold the doctrine of the Trinity from the benefit of this Act is one of the most remarkable circumstances attending it. Here is a little remain of intolerance. In all other respects it is founded on that principle of toleration which had been gradually growing in all the Protestant states, and which had succeeded to the principle of unlimited zeal, the duty of setting a regard to the interests of religious truth (or what is deemed such) as paramount above all other considerations ;—a most dangerous principle, leading to the most unrighteous actions, whether it appear in persons who can wield the powers of a state, or in those whose sphere is limited to the little circle of a Non-Conforming congregation.

This was the first national acknowledgement of the principle of toleration in matters of religion in England ; a principle full of political wisdom, and tending really, as it seems, to the peace of the state, even while it seems to endanger it. It is however, it must be confessed, inconsistent with that high and chivalric feeling which influenced the Christian world in other times, when men thought that everything should be sacrificed out of regard to strengthening the foundations of Christian truth. But the truth seems to be, that zeal, however we may sometimes admire and approve the exertions to which it may prompt, is, like pride, to which it is nearly akin, “ not made for man.” While we live in the midst of that great diversity of opinion which will always prevail among those who take the Scriptures for their guide, respecting what constitutes the revealed will of God for the reception and guidance of his whole creation in all times and countries, and in what way a visible profession shall be made of it, and its sacred influences be perpetuated, an ardent zeal for any particular form can never be the right state of mind in fallible and erring man, who must often be content to find his chiefest satisfaction in the

thought that God accepts the humble desire to know what is that true and perfect will which he communicated by his Son, and the persuasion that such is the genius and power of Christianity, that in the midst of all the diversities of opinion respecting it, there is still enough common to all to guide them into that true and perfect way which leadeth to everlasting life.

The course which public policy in England has taken since these times has been to the enlargement of the liberty of Non-Conformists. On this I shall speak briefly afterwards. At present it may suffice to observe, that the Act was received with joy through the whole ranks of the Non-Conformists, who regarded King William not only as the saviour of the country from Popery and arbitrary power, but as the particular patron of themselves, having given them the liberty which they so earnestly coveted. And they immediately proceeded, with a liberality of exertion of which there are few similar instances, to the erection of their chapels, the foundation of scholarships, the establishment of charities, the making provision for their ministers; thus showing that they were in earnest in their desire for the continuance of a Non-Conforming ministry.

The ordinations were also now more frequent; and, resuming the notice of the part which Mr. Heywood took in the proceedings of the times in which he lived, I shall give an account of the first ordination in which he was engaged after the passing of the Toleration Act. It was held at Alverthorpe, a place which, next to his own places in his own parish, seems to have been most frequently favoured with his services, and with it I shall close the present chapter.

“ I preached on Lord’s day, September 1, 1689, and in the close of the exercise gave public notice, that upon Wednesday following there would be a sermon and some other ordinances, to which whoever had a desire might repair; for we had appointed the persons concerned to come on the Tuesday forenoon for the pre-

paration work. Accordingly, when I was come to Mr. Nailor's most of them were come and ready." "Mr. Carrington, who was come from Lancaster, told Mr. Heywood and Mr. Dawson aside what bickerings he had had with his people about ordination, they desiring it might be at Lancaster, and if we two would promise to come over thither he would not now be ordained: he urged us to it very importunately, and said, 'Oh! what a light would it raise in that ignorant place!' but we denied him, because it's a great journey and now winter is upon us; so he determined to accept of it there." The other candidates ordained with him were, (1.) "Mr. John Holdsworth, who had been a preacher at least twelve years, and was loth to be drawn to this work through a sense of his own insufficiency; but we knew him to be a pious man and a good preacher, and therefore promised to deal gently with him. He was one of Mr. Frankland's scholars, but, by reason of his father's low estate, could not continue long enough, but came home and taught school, and now preacheth at Morley, Alverthorpe, Pontefract. He did answer tolerably, and had a good thesis concerning justification, and disputed; (2.) Mr. John Lister; (3.) Mr. John Ray; and (4.) Mr. Peter Green from Manchester. The ministers who were concerned in the ordination were, Mr. Heywood, Mr. Hawden, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Nailor, and Mr. Dawson. They all went through the preparatory work very satisfactorily; but Mr. Carrington, who had been educated under Frankland, astonished the ordaining ministers, as "he stood at a chair-back and poured out a discourse in Latin (which seemed to be *extempore*, I am sure it was *memoriter*) concerning ordination, proving the validity of ordination by a presbytery and answering objections." He told them also "how much his friends (who were of Cheshire, where he was born) were against his undertaking the ministry; but his resolution for God and good of souls engaged him; yet he was not certain whether his heart was upright or his grace sincere and saving."—

“That night there came four gentlemen on purpose from Lancaster to us; old Alderman Greenwood and his son Austin, and the next morning Mr. Moxon and Mr. Hartley, to countenance the business, whereby they gave their approbation of Mr. Carrington to be their minister. The next morning we met about eight o'clock; they were all there except Mr. Carrington; he lodged at Mr. Nailor's; the family told me he walked out as soon as he rose, very early, and they had not seen him since. Ten o'clock came, he came not; but we resolved to proceed; ordered the work of the day; only Mr. Dawson desired that we might hear some of their confessions privately, before they appeared in public. We desired Mr. Ray to read us his confession; he did: it was so well approved of, and time was almost gone, that we omitted the rest. So we went to go into the chapel; people were come. As we went in there came a man and horse to Mr. Dawson, to desire him to go beyond Morley to a sick woman; he would needs be gone. I told him he must not leave us, our work was more necessary at that time: he began with prayer; prayed half an hour or more; then Mr. Dawson would needs be gone, and did go; we could not hold him, though it was a great weakening of our hands, and discouragement to the hearts of some of the young men, as though he was not satisfied about them; that was not the cause, but he left us, and came at us no more: so we went on with our work, though we were but four ordainers and five to be ordained. Mr. Nailor proceeded to preach us a sermon on Matthew ix. 37, 38, of the sending forth labourers; it was a good discourse: but still Mr. Carrington came not; I was troubled; went out; we sent a man to look for him, who found him walking in a lane, reading in a book; told him he would follow him; at last he came. I went into the pulpit; examined them, one by one, of their ends in undertaking the ministry, resolution to perform the duties of that calling against all opposition, &c., which they answered largely and satisfactorily.

Then I desired them to make confession of their faith. Mr. Holdsworth began ; did it solidly : so did Mr. Lister, Mr. Ray ; then Mr. Carrington ran through the whole body of divinity, according to Mr. Baxter's *Methodus Theologiæ*, going through the four states of man, namely, innocency, apostacy, recovery, glory. He was indeed very large, but exact and accurate, and had it all in his memory. Mr. Green was more confused, but did honestly ; but followed Mr. Joseph Allein's method and much his views of covenanting. When they had dispatched that work we proceeded to setting them apart. I came down, and there being a void space made, we made them kneel down, one by one, while we all prayed over them." Then followed the imposition of hands, delivery of the Bible, right hand of fellowship, exhortation to the ordained, and an exhortation also to the people ; then prayer, singing a psalm, and the blessing. The service continued till five o'clock, when the ministers adjourned to Mr. Nailor's, where a dinner was prepared at the common charge of the young men ordained. Certificates were given them*.

* Mr. Carrington, whose singular conduct Mr. Heywood describes, was the next year the person second only to Mr. Jollie in the ridiculous affair of the Surey Demoniac, of which afterwards. He was the author of the principal tract in favour of the delusion. He continued at Lancaster, minister of the dissenting congregation there, till his death, in March 1701, at the age of forty. Of the other ministers then ordained, Mr. Lister and Mr. Ray also died at an early age.

CHAPTER XVI.

1689—1694.

MR. HEYWOOD'S PERSONAL STATE AT THE TIME WHEN THE ACT OF TOLERATION GAVE RELIEF.—THE AFFAIR OF THE SUREY DEMONIAK.—ORDINATION OF MR. KIRSHAW AND INDEPENDENT OBJECTIONS.—ATTEMPT AT A GENERAL UNION OF THE PRESBYTERIANS AND INDEPENDENTS.—HEADS OF AGREEMENT DETERMINED ON BY THE MINISTERS IN LONDON.—MEETING AT WAKEFIELD OF THE WEST RIDING MINISTERS, AT WHICH THEY ARE ASSENTED TO.—MEETINGS OF MINISTERS.—MR. SMITH'S PROPOSITION.—ORDINATION OF DR. COLTON OF YORK; AND OF OTHERS.—SEVERAL PUBLICATIONS OF MR. HEYWOOD'S.—LORD WHARTON.

AT the point of time at which we are now arrived Mr. Heywood had reached his sixtieth year, a period when men begin to feel their natural strength a little abated, and when in those days, more than in these times, they began to think it amiable and becoming in them to take the meditative rather than the active, and to be as men waiting in a state of repose for the hour when their change should come. No one might have retired from the hurry of life with a stronger persuasion that he had done the work which it was given him to do than Mr. Heywood, whose energies had been exerted to the utmost in that troublesome course which he had thought it his duty to take. Whatever view we may take of that course, we cannot withhold from him, justly, the full effect of the expression applied to another itinerant in a singular course of self-appointed duty—

“ Servant of God! well done!”

or look upon him in any other light than as a man who took a severe view of the duty required of him, and who

acted uniformly, steadily, and faithfully up to his convictions, with a constant and reverential regard to the solemn truth that he was

“ Ever in his great task-master’s eye.”

But in the twelve years which remain of Mr. Heywood’s life, we shall not find him yielding to any weak supposition of his own inability for continued exertion, or ceasing to do everything in the full discharge of the duties belonging to the mode of life to which he had been destined. The law, by now taking himself and others who thought and acted with him under its protection, had wrought a great change in his position and mode of action ; and not less had been the effect of the change which ensued in the Non-Conforming body, when the ministers fell each into his place as the minister of some particular congregation, just as in the Church each minister has his limited portion of the vineyard assigned to him. Mr. Heywood is henceforth to be regarded as the stated minister of the Dissenting congregation meeting at the chapel at Northowram, the principal village in what had been in former times his chapelry of Coley ; and in that situation we shall find him assiduously employing himself, but still, as heretofore, visiting, from time to time, distant places, and either assisting his brethren in the ministry in their meeting-places, or conducting private services in the houses of those of his former religious acquaintances, whom, in darker and more dangerous times, he had been accustomed to visit. He was also, as we shall see, the most forward in all the works of ordination, and in other public proceedings of the Non-Conformists in the country around.

In the first incident which we have to notice, Mr. Heywood appears, in common with many of his brethren, in a position, which, when looked at from these more enlightened times, seems to require rather to be excused than defended.

We have seen that his mind was not free from those

mistakes to which minds of a strong devotional cast seem more peculiarly liable, respecting the unusual forms which certain maladies are sometimes seen to assume. The possibility of demoniacal possession was an article of his creed, as of that of many of his contemporaries, and he was in this year, 1689, engaged in an affair which brought no small share of ridicule on the persons concerned in it, and exposed the body of the Non-Conformist ministers in the borders of Yorkshire and Lancashire to the suspicion, undoubtedly unjust, of seeking to strengthen their interest by arts which had been practised a century before with better success. The case was this:—

One Richard Dugdale, who lived at Surey, in the neighbourhood of Clitheroe and not far from the house of Mr. Jollie, was afflicted with a disease, which baffled the skill of Dr. Crabtree, one of the most eminent of the medical practitioners in that country. It at length became the common persuasion that it was no case of ordinary disease, but direct possession, and leaving the physicians, the young man's friends had recourse to the divines. Mr. Jollie visited him, and with little hesitation pronounced it to be a case of the kind supposed. He used the strong expression, that it was "as real a possession as any in the Gospels." Mr. Carrington of Lancaster was of the same opinion; and it appearing to them that the patient could be relieved only by prayer and fasting, fast-days were appointed, at which Mr. Heywood and Mr. Frankland attended, as did also other ministers in those parts, Mr. Sagar, Mr. Kirshaw, Mr. Waddington, and Mr. Whalley. Nor were they the only Non-Conforming ministers concerned in this affair; for another Mr. Heywood, Mr. Thomas Crompton, Mr. John Crompton, Mr. Parr, Mr. Eaton, Mr. Scoles, and one of the Angiers took a part. At one of the meetings Mr. Heywood preached from 1 John iii. 8: "For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil." This appears to have

been on the 22nd of September, 1689, but we have no diary for the period, and there is very little in any part of Mr. Heywood's papers on the subject. The boy recovered; and some years after, namely, in 1697, Mr. Jollie thought proper to publish an account of what was done, in which he attributed the cure to the prayers of the Non-Conforming ministers. The title of his tract was, 'The Surey Demoniac,' which was soon met by another tract, entitled 'The Surey Impostor,' the author of which was Mr. Zachary Taylor. The object of this tract was not to show that Dugdale himself was an impostor, but that there was imposture in attributing his cure to the prayers of the ministers. It produced a sharp controversy, in which Mr. Carrington was engaged in defence of the ministers, but Mr. Heywood kept himself aloof. Most of the pamphlets relating to this affair, one of the latest of the kind, are in the British Museum.

In 1691 Mr. Heywood was engaged in another ordination, in which there were some remarkable circumstances. The candidate was Mr. Nicholas Kirshaw, who had studied in Frankland's academy, which he entered in 1680. He had succeeded Mr. Issot (who died early in life) as minister of the Non-Conformists in Craven, and had been "preaching honestly and living exemplarily" two or three years, when he applied to Mr. Heywood to be ordained. The 8th of April was the time appointed, on which day Mr. Heywood repaired to John Hey's in Craven, supposing the service would be performed there, but he found that it had been determined to perform it at Mr. Frankland's at Rathmel, near Settle, five miles further. When he arrived at Rathmel, he found Mr. Jollie and Mr. Sagar. Mr. Jollie was full of his congregational objections, which the Presbyterian ministers undertook to answer. The objections which he urged throw a strong light on the difference in judgment on this point between the two great sections of Dissent. They were,—(1.) that messengers of other churches ought to be present as witnesses of the ordina-

tion, that if Mr. Kirshaw should be called to minister among them, they might know that he was regularly ordained: to which it was replied, that such a thing had never been practised; that no notice of such a desire had been given; that they must then send to all the congregations in England; that there would be the testimony of the ministers present, whose testimony would be received. (2.) The next objection was the old one, that the minister ought to be ordained in the congregation in which he was to serve. To this it was replied, that it was thought expedient that it should be so, yet in this case it was not so done for the convenience of Mr. Frankland's thirty-eight scholars, who could not go so far, and desired to be present; that there were the chief members of the society present, who in the name of the whole declared their satisfaction with what was doing, and who certified their approbation of him and choice of him to be their pastor in writing. (3.) He insisted that Mr. Kirshaw should preach before them, which was inconvenient on account of time, and finally compromised by Mr. Kirshaw giving the heads of the last discourse he had delivered. (4.) He wished the ordination to be deferred till the terms of the agreement between the Presbyterians and Independents were known. To this the Presbyterians replied, that it was fitting they should observe their old method till that agreement was known to them, when they might do as it seemed fitting. (5.) He objected, "Lay hands suddenly on no man," desiring further time. It was answered, that Mr. Kirshaw was sufficiently known; he had been a minister several years, his people knew his manner of life, and the ministers to ordain him might have a taste of his abilities. (6.) He thought the examination should take place on one day, and the ordination on the next. It was replied, that if many were to be ordained this might be done, but as there was only one, one day was sufficient time for the whole work. He was thus driven from every point, and at last he pressed for deferring the

ordination till the next day ; but this also Mr. Heywood resisted, as he had engaged to preach the next day at John Hey's. It is wonderful that all this cavilling did not teach the Presbyterian ministers two truths :— (1.) that it was hazardous to unite themselves with the Independents in works such as these, or indeed in anything connected with ecclesiastical affairs ; and (2.) that it was expedient to establish forthwith a certain code of rules for the direction of all such proceedings as these.

When the question of postponing the service for a day was put to the vote, Mr. Jollie stood alone, except that Mr. Sagar professed himself neuter. " I desired them affectionately that we might not spend more time in dispute, for we had argued above an hour, but fall to work." They had not, however, yet done with Mr. Jollie ; for when the thesis was spoken of, it appeared that no notice had been given to Mr. Kirshaw to prepare one ; but Mr. Frankland testified to the abilities of his pupil in that way, and desired that any questions might be propounded to him, and dispute extempore ; but Mr. Jollie slighted that " as inconsiderable, making no great reckoning of it, but desiring he might be dealt with about a principle of grace. And when Mr. Kirshaw had made a confession of his faith, which he did largely, accurately, and satisfactorily, and a declaration of the substantial of order and discipline, which he did according to the Presbyterian principles," Mr. Jollie told him that " his substantial were not substantial, and he deserved a severe rebuke." Mr. Kirshaw replied, that Mr. Jollie himself had put him on that task, and he had but declared his judgment. " Yes," said Mr. Jollie, " so you might do, but you need not have added your reasons." After this unseemly dialogue, Mr. Jollie was more averse than before, and said that he was dissatisfied. The other ministers desired Mr. Dawson to go to prayer. Then the certificate was read : Mr. Jollie and Mr. Sagar were both desired to go to prayer, but both refused, and sat by the whole day taking no part in the proceedings.

Mr. Heywood then undertook the duty of praying over the candidate, and first laying on of hands. Mr. Jollie and Mr. Sagar refused to lay on theirs; so that only Mr. Heywood, Mr. Frankland, Mr. Dawson, Mr. Carrington, and Mr. Whalley did so. Then followed the presenting the Bible, and giving the right hand of fellowship. Mr. Heywood then preached to the candidate and the people, and this unsatisfactory business ended with singing and prayer. The rest of the ministers remained together for the night, but Mr. Jollie and Mr. Sagar rode away.

We next find Mr. Heywood taking the lead in an affair of material consequence in the history of Dissent.

Various had been the attempts on the part of the more moderate men of each party to bring the Presbyterians and the Independents into a state of amicable union, as a support to each other and to strengthen the Dissenting interest; beside that, apart from the great peculiarities of the opinion of each party, there was much in common in their zeal for promoting virtue and holiness, and in their being branches of the same great Puritan family. When the Toleration Act had placed them both under the protection of the law, and the whole Dissenting body was about to act under more favourable circumstances than heretofore, it appeared to be a favourable opportunity for renewing their former attempts at union, and the business was begun apparently with good faith and good feeling on both sides. It originated in London, or at least the measures necessary to effect it were carried on there, and certain terms of agreement settled. These were sent to the ministers in various parts of the kingdom, with letters of recommendation that they should endeavour to promote this union in the several districts in which they resided. The paper was thus entitled: "Heads of Agreement assented to by the United Ministers in and about London, formerly called Presbyterian and Congregational, not as a measure for any National Constitution, but for the

preservation of order in our Congregations that cannot come up to the common Rule by Law established." This paper, which may be read at large in Dr. Calamy's 'Historical Additions [to the Life of Baxter] after the Revolution of 1688,' pp. 476—483, contains a multitude of propositions, and is little less than a body of articles both of faith and religious practice. It is difficult to give an idea of such a document in a small compass, and it is of the less consequence, as, though it was at the time agreed to by most of the Non-Conforming ministers in and about London, the union was in a very few years, even as early as 1694, dissolved*, and the Presbyterians and Independents of London reverted to their original state, each having their own ministers, congregations, and meeting-houses, and having, as before, their distinct and peculiar principles and objects.

In the country these Heads of Agreement were generally received in a conciliatory spirit. The Cheshire ministers subscribed their assent to them at a meeting held at Macclesfield in March 1691, Mr. Samuel Angier being the moderator. In the summer of that year the ministers in Nottinghamshire assented, as did also the ministers in the parts of Lancashire about Manchester, where, however, were very few who classed themselves with the Independents. Still nothing was done in the West Riding of Yorkshire. At length Mr. Sharp, the Presbyterian minister at Leeds, and Mr. Whitaker, the Independent minister, both moderate men, wrote to Mr. Heywood, telling him that the work depended upon him. He was for appointing a meeting at Leeds to consider the Heads, but this pleased neither Mr. Sharp nor Mr. Whitaker, who thought Leeds too public a place, and desired that it might be held at Morley. Mr. Heywood consulted

* It was broken up in consequence of doctrinal differences, most of the Presbyterians beginning at this time to advance even from the diluted Calvinism of Baxter to Arminianism, while the tendency of most of the Independents was towards the Calvinism of the Assembly's Catechism and something more.

with Mr. Dawson, the minister at Morley, but he and the people thought Morley not a convenient place; whereupon Mr. Heywood set down peremptorily Wakefield as the place at which it should be held, and the time September 2, the day when a lecture was usually preached at the house of Mrs. Kirby, the widow of the old Cambden lecturer there. The next difficulty was to find a preacher; Mr. Sharp declined; so did Mr. Whitaker and Mr. Ward of York: at last this duty devolved on Mr. Heywood. When the day came there was a great assembly, "it being a strange business to see so many ministers together, all Non-Conformists." The town was alarmed, and when the service at Mrs. Kirby's was over, the ministers thought it prudent to go apart, and by several ways, to the house at which they dined. They then returned to their registered house, where they formed themselves into a deliberative assembly. They were in all twenty-four, twenty ordained ministers, and four who were only candidates, yet preachers. It cannot but gratify some at least of those who will be the readers of this work to see their names as Mr. Heywood has preserved them, arranged in the order of seniority as they sat in this assembly. Nearly thirty years had passed since the Uniformity Act, but of the West Riding ministers there were nine of those who had been ejected present on this occasion. They are here distinguished from the rest:—

Mr. RICHARD FRANKLAND of Rathmel.

Mr. PRIME of Sheffield.

Mr. THOMAS JOHNSON, living at Painthorpe.

Mr. WILLIAM HAWDEN, living in Wakefield.

Mr. OLIVER HEYWOOD of Northowram.

Mr. THOMAS SHARP of Leeds.

Mr. JOSEPH DAWSON of Morley.

Mr. David Noble of Heckmonwyke.

Mr. Wharam of Great Houghton.

Mr. BAXTER of Sheffield.

Mr. RICHARD THORPE of Hopton-hall.

Mr. Thomas Whitaker of Leeds.

Mr. Thomas Elston of Topcliffe.

Mr. Matthew Smith of Mixenden.
 Mr. John Holdsworth of Alverthorpe.
 Mr. James Wright of Attercliffe.
 Mr. John Heywood of Ravenfield.
 Mr. Eliezer Heywood of Walling-wells.
 Mr. John Lister of Elland.
 Mr. John Ray of the Closes.

Candidates.

Mr. Nathaniel Priestley of Warley.
 Mr. Jonathan Wright of Idle.
 Mr. Sagar of Alverthorpe.
 Mr. Gill of Pontefract*.

As soon as the assembly was composed, there being many gentlemen and other persons present, Mr. Heywood requested Mr. Frankland, the senior minister, to recommend the work on which they were met to the blessing of God in prayer. Then Mr. Heywood took the Heads of the Agreement and read them over deliberately, pausing at the close of each paragraph to give any of the ministers present liberty and opportunity to object. No objection was made by any person present, except Mr. Frankland to a few of the articles, and his objections were overruled. In fine they accorded in the terms of the agreement, with little apparent reserve of any dissentient opinion.

This was the first of a series of such assemblies of the ministers of the West Riding, and there were similar assemblies in every other part of the kingdom, which were technically called "Meetings of Ministers," a term which was used in preference to synod or provincial assembly, to avoid giving offence to the bishops and convocation. These meetings continued to be held periodically in the West Riding by the ministers of the Old Dissent for more than a century, and at them business interesting to the body at large was discussed, the affairs

* It will be perceived that the York ministers were not present, perhaps as not regarding York a portion of the West Riding. There are also a few names which might have been expected to appear in this list, and do not, the most remarkable of which is that of Timothy Jollie of Sheffield, for whose absence I am unable to account.

of particular congregations sometimes considered, and the time and place of ordination services, as long as ordination was used, were settled.

At this the first meeting of the kind, beside the principal business, other business was brought before it; for Mr. Matthew Smith, who had certain doctrinal opinions different from those of most of his brethren, proposed to the ministers present the abstract question, whether he was not bound to declare in his ministry the whole counsel of God; and this he followed by another question quite as ensnaring, whether he should preach in favour of discipline. The difficulty in these questions lies in the impossibility of returning at once a categorical answer. No answer could be given to either without a great deal of qualification, and this Mr. Smith ought to have known, and therefore to have forborne on such an occasion to propose them. It produced a slight disagreement, for one of his congregation, who happened to be present, denied that they had ever restrained him from preaching upon discipline. The ministers acted wisely. They recommended peace and unity; and so ended Mr. Smith's affair; but to a reflecting mind it must have shown, in this first beginning of their legalized existence, that though they might abominate the spiritual courts which had been the instruments of so much evil to their forefathers and some of themselves, if there is to be any order maintained in an extensive ecclesiastical union, there must be a regulating power somewhere, and strength given to enforce its decisions.

When evening was coming on, Mr. Frankland was in haste to withdraw. Mr. Heywood besought him to stay, that he might close the day's work with prayer. He however declined, as did also Mr. Sharp, Mr. Whitaker, Mr. Prime, and others; so this duty also fell on Mr. Heywood, who then dismissed the assembly*.

* Among the laymen present at this meeting was Ralph Thoresby of Leeds, who speaks of it thus in his diary:—"1691, Sept. 2. Morning, at worthy Mr. Sharp's, with whom and Mr. Whitaker,

In 1692 Mr. Heywood was concerned in an ordination, where there was no attempt at forcing the repellent elements of Presbyterianism and Independency into an unnatural union, but all were united on Presbyterian principles. The candidate was Dr. Thomas Colton of York, a name familiar in the Courts at Westminster as that of the executor, friend and pastor of Lady Hewley. Dr. Colton applied to the Association for ordination. Mr. Heywood desired him to attend their next meeting, which was held at Mr. John Holdsworth's in Burstall parish, July 14. He preached before them an excellent sermon; he preached also twice in Mr. Heywood's own meeting-place, giving most abundant satisfaction. He was then about thirty years of age, and had been chaplain to Sir William Ayscough several years; but having an inclination to study physic, he had gone to Holland and studied there, taking a degree in medicine. It was proposed that other candidates should be ordained at the same time, but as they were not prepared, it was determined that some of the Association should repair to York, and there perform the service for Dr. Colton alone. The 24th of August was fixed upon as the day, and there being a meeting of ministers on the 17th, Mr. Heywood brought the subject forward; but all, with the exception of Mr. John Lister, excused themselves. Mr. Heywood and Mr. Lister therefore

and Mr. Samuel Ibbetson rode to Wakefield; heard the lecture sermon; Mr. Heywood preached well and suitably to the convention from Zech. xiv. 9, 'In that day there shall be one Lord and his name One.' Afterwards that good man (itinerant preacher or apostle of these parts) read each of the Heads of the Agreement of the united ministers in and about London. Most were unanimously assented to by the brethren of both persuasions; others modestly discussed and explained, and, which I rejoiced to observe, without the least passionate expression. The truly reverend Mr. Frankland and Mr. Sharp in their arguments showed abundance of learning as well as piety, and were unanswered, even in what was not readily assented to by some juniors, about synods and re-ordination. Had the pleasing society of many excellent ministers from all parts of the West Riding."

repaired to York alone, where they inquired of Dr. Colton if he had engaged the three ministers who lived about York to join them in the service. Dr. Colton said two of them had promised to attend, but his letter to Mr. Cornelius Todd at Helaugh had failed. Notice was given to the congregation, and there was a goodly assembly the next morning in the chamber at Mr. Andrew Taylor's, where the York Dissenters still met, their chapel not being yet built. The service began at ten with prayer by the ministers in succession. Dr. Colton was then examined "concerning the grace of God in him, his call to the ministry, his purpose to give himself wholly to it, continuance in it, his resolution for faithful managing of it according to the rules in the Directory. We examined him concerning the Hebrew, Greek, of the authors he had read in divinity; asked him the meaning of some scriptures; proposed a question in divinity—*An Fides sola justificat?* which was disputed on, and some opposed. We read his testimonials, subscribed by some ministers and heads of the congregation. Then he made a solemn confession of his faith very accurately and learnedly; then he kneeled down, and I prayed over him, and in the middle of the prayer, laying on my hand, the rest laid on their hands; and that being done, we gave him the right hand of fellowship, and put the Bible into his hand. Then we sat down, and I gave him an exhortation grounded on 2 Cor. xii. 11. Then I concluded with prayer and praise, and dismissed the company with a blessing." The two York ministers who were engaged were Noah Ward, who had been ejected, and Timothy Hodgson, Sir John Hewley's chaplain.

In 1693 Mr. Heywood was engaged in another ordination service at Mr. Frankland's at Rathmel, where five young ministers were ordained. They were Mr. Roger Anderton, then settled at Whitehaven, whose people sent a very full testimonial of his abilities, usefulness, and conversation; Mr. John Holland, then settled in Swale-

dale ; Mr. Edward Rothwell at Poulton-in-the-Fylde, among a very ignorant but willing and numerous people ; Mr. James Mitchel, son of Mr. Heywood's Craven friend, Richard Mitchel of Marton Scar, who was called to preach at Chippin and Bolton ; and Mr. Joseph Dawson, son of the Mr. Dawson so often mentioned, who then preached at Harford near Richmond, but the chief part of whose ministerial life was spent at Rochdale. The ministers engaged were Mr. Heywood, Mr. Frankland, Mr. Dawson, Mr. Carrington, and Mr. Punccheon, a new name, a minister then settled at Rosendale in Westmoreland. The day was June 7, 1693. The examination in this case consisted in each being called upon to pray and deliver a discourse ; then the thesis and disputation. The business was continued the following morning with the questions from the Directory and the Confessions of Faith, which were followed by the laying on of hands in the usual form, and the other ceremonies*.

In 1694, Mr. Jonathan Wright, Mr. Nathaniel Priestley, and Mr. Accepted Lister were ordained, all of whom had studied under Mr. Frankland. It was proposed that it should be at Mr. Heywood's meeting-house, but it

* Mr. Heywood takes notice of another ordination service this year, in which he was not engaged. It was that of Mr. Sagar, at his father's house at Blackburn, September 20, 1693, the very day that there was a meeting of sixteen ministers at Wakefield. The ministers who ordained were Mr. Jollie, Mr. Sagar, senior (the father of the candidate), Mr. Waddington, and Mr. John Walker. Mr. Sagar was then about to be pastor of the congregation at Alverthorpe. Mr. Heywood was invited to meet Mr. Jollie, Mr. Sagar, senior, and others at Wakefield, to be present at the settling of Mr. Sagar, junior, at Alverthorpe, when another peculiar service was performed ; but he excused himself, having planned a journey into Lancashire.

He notices also an ordination in April 1694, in which however he was not personally concerned. This was held at Stand in Pilkington, when Mr. Thomas Dickenson, then minister at Gorton, but who succeeded Mr. Heywood at Northowram, Mr. Loe of Chorton, and Mr. Samuel Baxter of Attercliffe, were ordained by Mr. Newcome, Mr. Eaton, Mr. Samuel Angier, and others. It was said there were thirty ministers present, and a numerous assembly.

was finally determined that it should be at Horton, near Bradford, where Mr. Wright and Mr. Priestley then were preachers. The day was June 6. There were Mr. Frankland, Mr. Heywood, Mr. Thorpe, and other ministers whose names are not preserved. The examination, theses, and other introductory work was carried on at Mr. Sharp's. It was then proposed to adjourn to the chapel; but this was opposed by Mr. Thorpe as dangerous, and likely to fill the country with talk. "I told him it would be less dangerous in the chapel than in that unlicensed place, and it was practised elsewhere publicly and without offence." Finally they adjourned to the meeting-house, where was a great assembly, including several other ministers, as Mr. Ray, Mr. Kirshaw, and two sons of Mr. Dawson, who was ill. The candidates made a confession of their faith "largely, going through the principles of religion, reading them in the audience of the congregation severally and distinctly." Mr. Heywood then asked them the usual questions from the Directory. The rest was in the usual form. The three ministers here ordained exercised their ministry afterwards in the parts about Halifax and Bradford, being themselves in their turn those who ordained the next generation of West Riding ministers.

During the years for which we have neither diary nor autobiography, Mr. Heywood was much employed in preparing works for the press. His writings are all very similar in design and character, their end being to promote practical religion, and varying only in the subject with which the instruction is combined. I shall give little more than the titles of the works as they appeared in chronological order.

'Meetness for Heaven,' 1690. This is in fact a funeral discourse on Colossians i. 12. He inscribes it to his "hearers, friends, and neighbours." One passage from this address I must transcribe:—"I have observed a commendable practice of some Christians, which is, to order some books to be distributed at their funerals:

the first that I know of that nature was Mr. R. A.'s *Vindiciæ Pietatis*, and some other practical pieces, which by God's blessing have done much good. Such a memorandum would I bequeath as my last legacy to you, my dear people, amongst whom I have laboured above thirty-nine years in public and private, serving the Lord in some measure of integrity and humility, with many tears and temptations, through a variety of dispensations, excommunications, banishments, confiscations, and imprisonments; but out of all these the Lord hath delivered me, and set my feet in a large place; and God, that searcheth the heart, knows what hath been my design in studying, preaching, praying, and preparing for you a place to meet in to worship God; and what are the agonies and jealousies of my spirit to this day, lest I leave any of you unconverted, and so cashiered from God's presence at the great day; and now at last I solemnly charge you before God and the Lord Jesus Christ and the elect angels, that you rest not in a graceless state another day, lest that be the last day, and ye be found unready." This is the high tone of the old Puritan, and of the regularly ordained minister who felt that it was his calling to warn them as one having authority, and who had himself to give account of his charge.

'A Family Altar erected to the Honour of the Eternal God, or a Solemn Essay to promote the Worship of God in Private Houses.' The Epistle to the Reader is dated February 2, 1692-3. It has also a Recommendatory Epistle, signed John Starkey and John Howe, the latter being the minister of that name who had a high reputation in the dissenting community of that day. This again is one of his sermons, enlarged perhaps, but may be taken as a specimen of his style of preaching. The text is Gen. xxxv. 1-3.

'The Best Entail, or dying parents' living hopes for their surviving children, grounded upon the covenant of God's grace with believers and their seed,' 1693. This also is a sermon enlarged. It is dedicated to Philip Lord

Wharton, "whose morning star of early piety continues still shining bright in a good old age, and hath cast out resplendent beams of favour upon indigent persons, and opened the savour of divine knowledge amongst the ignorant, for which the loins of the poor and souls of the instructed will bless you in this and the other world." There is no doubt that this, the "good Lord Wharton," was a man of great piety and charity, and his bounty flowed more particularly towards those who, nursed as he was in the spirit of Puritanism, found themselves in consequence cast out of the Church, and exposed to penury and scorn. Mr. Heywood had himself received other favours from Lord Wharton beside the patronage of his school. His language is a little approaching to the abject, even when we remember what was the admitted style of dedications of the period. "The nearer your lordship approacheth to your centre and haven, the more sedulous and active are you to lay a foundation for religion in future generations; . . . for the accomplishing of this great purpose, a poor inconsiderable worm casts his mite into my lord's treasury, and prostrates himself at your lordship's feet, in this dedication, in testimony of my sincere gratitude for your unparalleled kindness and condescension to so humble a person." Lord Wharton, who had been one of the lay-members of the Assembly of Divines, was one of the best friends the Non-Conformist ministers had. He founded chapels for them, and his Bible-charity was by him and his original trustees confided in the details of the administration of it to them, nor were they deprived of it till about fifty years ago. The public history of the son and the grandson, who inherited the honours of this religious peer, and added others to them, is well known. The private history of their struggles with the influences of a Puritan education might, if attainable, read some instructive lessons.

CHAPTER XVII.

1695—1702.

DIARY RESUMED.—PUBLISHES *THE NEW CREATURE*.—SYMPTOMS OF DECLINING ORTHODOXY IN THE NON-CONFORMIST BODY.—THOMAS BRADBURY.—OPENING OF THE CHAPEL AT LIDGET.—PRIVATE CONFERENCE OF MINISTERS.—CHAPELS FOUNDED AT PONTEFRACT; YORK; WARLEY; BINGLEY; ROTHERHAM; PUDSEY.—WRITES NOTICES OF NON-CONFORMING MINISTERS.—HIS LAST VISIT TO LANCASHIRE, AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE NON-CONFORMISTS THERE.—INVITED TO MANCHESTER; HALIFAX.—NATHANIEL PRIESTLEY.—ORDINATION OF MR. COTTON.—INVITED TO LONDON.—HIS AFFAIRS IN RESPECT OF INCOME, ETC.—WRITES A PREFACE TO MR. FRANKLAND'S TREATISE AGAINST A SOCINIAN.—RALPH THORESBY CONFORMS TO THE CHURCH.—ORDINATION OF MR. BLAMIRE.—OPENING OF THE CHAPEL AT WAKEFIELD.—DEATH OF MR. FRANKLAND.—CORRESPONDENCE ON THE HISTORY AND AFFAIRS OF NON-CONFORMITY.—SINGULAR INCIDENT AT MANCHESTER.—VARIOUS PUBLICATIONS.—MR. SHARP.—MR. SYLVESTER.—ANOTHER ORDINATION.—MR. MATTHEW SMITH'S HETERODOXY.—MARRIAGE OF ELIEZER HEYWOOD.—DISPUTES IN THE CRAVEN CONGREGATION.—DECLINE OF MR. HEYWOOD'S HEALTH.—DEATH.—FUNERAL.—WILL.—PORTRAIT.—HOUSE.—CHAPEL.—MINISTERS AT NORTHOWRAM AFTER HIM.—EJECTED MINISTERS SURVIVING HIM.—HIS SONS AND THEIR DESCENDANTS.—DESCENDANTS OF HIS BROTHER NATHANIEL.—TESTIMONIES TO HIS CHARACTER.

WITH the early months of 1695 we begin again to have the benefit of that punctual account of the occurrences of Mr. Heywood's life which his daily journal presents. He continued it till within five days of his death. The present chapter will contain what little remains to be told of him; and in the next and concluding chapter we shall say something on the results of his labours,

and on the changes which have taken place since his time in the body of Non-Conformists to which he belonged. We shall take in the present chapter, as before, his journal for our guide, selecting from it such entries as are in any respect peculiar (his course of life being in the main of a more uniform tenor than before, being spent chiefly at home in religious meditation and exercises, and in the discharge of his pastoral duties to his congregation at Northowram), or which throw light on the state of Non-Conformity, adding such remarks as the several extracts may require.

1695.

In the beginning of the year he was much employed in the preparation of the treatise which he entitled 'A New Creature,' a short series of sermons which he had delivered to the congregation in his chapel on Galatians vi. 15. An epistle is prefixed, addressed "To his dear friends and beloved hearers of Northowram in Yorkshire," containing very earnest exhortations to them, and a few allusions to his long labouring among them, "his tears, temptations, banishment, imprisonment, confiscations, night travels and preachings, fastings, watchings, encouragements and discouragements." He is "willing to leave one legacy more behind him as a standing testimony to surviving posterity of his long attachment to the concerns of their precious souls, and the means of their spiritual good, when his mouth is closed in the dust." It is quite the epistle of an apostolic man, now about "to put off this his tabernacle," and willing that those whom he had instructed in his better days "should have these things always in remembrance."

One remark in this epistle is worthy especial notice, as it shows that before the first fathers of the Non-Conforming ministry were gone off the stage, and while the Non-Conforming body were making preparation for the perpetual continuance of such a ministry, the new mode of preaching,^{*} which soon became general among the

which
U-
anism
next century.

Presbyterians, was attracting attention, and in the instance of Mr. Heywood at least exciting sorrow and alarm. He alludes to some discourses of his in which he had preached on "the person, nature, offices, and undertaking of our Lord Jesus Christ in all their mediatorial latitude;" and he adds, "though this may seem to be out of fashion amongst some who would be esteemed rational preachers, and think that treating of Christ is but a conceited canting, though the great apostle of the Gentiles mentions the name of Christ nine several times in his first ten verses in the first chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, and in his epistles some hundreds of times, &c." This was in 1695.

March 25. "Thomas Bradbury, Mr. Timothy Jollie's scholar, came to me; I conversed with him; gave him some books." This was he who was afterwards an influential minister in London, remarkable for his great zeal for the ancient doctrine of the English Church when many of his brethren were become more or less indifferent to it, and for the zealous support which he gave to the political party who secured the succession of the house of Hanover, of which some remarkable stories are preserved in the traditions of Non-Conformity.

March 28. "Rode to John Armitage's; preached in their new meeting-house the first sermon on Exodus xxiv. 1, 2; a dedication of it; there was a full assembly; then administered the Lord's Supper to about forty." This was the Presbyterian chapel still existing at Lidget.

April 17. "Consulted authors for conference; Mr. Wright, Mr. Priestley, Mr. Lister, Mr. Denton, came about eleven o'clock; Mr. Wright begun with prayer; we spake to the four questions propounded; Mr. Smith came not; I concluded with prayer." These were young ministers settled at the newly-founded chapels in the neighbourhood, who appear to have formed themselves into a society for religious conversation and spiritual exercises at each others' houses. Mr. Smith was regarded with some kind of reserve or suspicion among his bre-

thren for certain peculiarities of opinion in point of doctrine. We shall hear more of this.

May 12, there was a collection made in Mr. Heywood's chapel for James Whittell, a scholar with Mr. Frankland. They gathered thirty shillings.

In the month of July he visited York. He went first to his friend Mr. Oates at Chickenley; then to Wakefield, where he preached the lecture at Mrs. Kirby's; then to Pontefract, where a chapel had been built, of which his son, John Heywood, was then the minister. He found also that a chapel had been built at York, in which he preached. The friends with whom he had most intercourse in that city were Sir John and Lady Hewley; but he names also the ministers Mr. Noah Ward and Dr. Colton, and the following persons, who appear to have been at that time principal persons among the Presbyterians of York; Dr. Nicholson, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Geldard, Mr. Fothergill, Mr. Priestley, Mr. Rhodes, Mr. Clegg, Mrs. Drake, Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Darcy. He remarks, that when he preached he had a large congregation, although the archbishop preached that very day at Saint Saviour's Church in the same street. It was the assize time, and Mr. Heywood went to the Minster to hear the assize sermon. When he was about to take his leave, he "received Lady Hewley's charity."

On July 14 he preached a funeral sermon for Mr. Jonathan Denton, who was buried at Halifax on the 8th. This was at the particular request of the deceased, made on his death-bed. The sermon was printed under the title of 'Job's Appeal,' with a dedication to Mr. John Denton of Southwark, brother of the deceased.

In this month we find him preaching at Warley, Bingley, and Idle. At the two former places, meeting-houses had been erected; but at Idle the people met in Mr. or Mrs. Ledgard's barn. At all these places Presbyterian congregations were formed.

In August he was assisting at a fast at Josiah Stansfield's for two young scholars going to Glasgow. He

notices also that there were collections at his chapel for the Non-Conformists at Hull and those of Gillingham in Dorsetshire.

In September he visited Rotherham, where a chapel had been erected, at which he preached. In this journey he visited several friends whose names will be familiar to the reader, and others who have not occurred before ; as Mr. Thorpe of Hopton, Mr. W. Cotton of Hague-hall, Mr. Langley of Barnsley, Dr. Ellis of Brampton, who was a great public benefactor, Mr. W. Langley of Rotherham, Mr. Hatfield of Laughton, Mr. Westby of Ravenfield, and Mr. Taylor of Walling-wells. On his return he visited Mr. Riche at Bull-house, where the chapel still existing had then been erected.

In the next month he was preaching at the new chapel at Pudsey.

In October and November he was in correspondence with Dr. Sampson, one of the ejected ministers, who was making collections preparatory to a history of Puritanism, which he never accomplished. The correspondence was carried on through their common friend, Mr. Ralph Thoresby of Leeds. Mr. Heywood drew up many biographical notices of his brethren in the Non-Conforming ministry at this period and in the following year.

December 28. " Discoursed with a woman pretending to be Mr. Angier's daughter."

1696.

In May he preached to a great congregation in the chapel at Lidget ; and he went to Halifax " to view the new meeting-place."

In June he paid what proved to be his last visit to his friends and relations in Lancashire. He set out from Northowram on Monday, June 1 ; dined at Josiah Stansfield's ; travelled to Rochdale ; light at Mr. Robert Milnes' ; lodged at Mr. Anthony Buxton's. Tuesday, rid to Manchester to dinner at brother Hilton's ; visited Mr. Frankland, cousin Butterworth, Mr. Chorlton, and

many others. Mr. Chorlton had succeeded Mr. Newcome, who died September 20, 1695, as the minister of the Presbyterians of Manchester, who had erected for him a large chapel. On Wednesday Dr. Neeld accompanied him to Eccles, where he "preached in their meeting-place, a large barn, to a full assembly; sat with my Lord Willoughby afterwards; then we went to Eccles church; dined, and returned to Manchester." Thursday, cousin Eaton went with him to Mrs. Gilliam and Mr. Constantine. Friday, went to Mrs. Newcome's, "discoursed long with her, prayed with her family; dined with Mr. Chorlton at Mr. Wykes'. Cousin James Lomax came for me, with whom I rode to his house in Little Lever. Saturday, baptized Alice, daughter of James Lomax; rode to cousin Peter Rothwell's in Darcy Lever; cousin Park came to me. Sunday, rid to Bolton; light at cousin William Whitehead's; walked to the meeting-house; preached on Isaiah xlv. 22, my cousin Esther's funeral text; administered the Lord's Supper at noon to about five hundred communicants; dined at cousin Park's. Monday, my cousin and I visited Mr. Duhirst; walked to the church-yard; viewed several relations' graves; went to Mr. Lever's with Mr. Walker, to the chapel, who preached; dined at Mr. Bridge's in Little Bolton; had a meeting of ministers there: cousin Nathaniel Heywood and I came to cousin Crompton's at Crompton-Fold; lodged there. Tuesday, cousin Nathaniel Heywood and I discoursed about some weighty things; came to brother Crompton's. Wednesday, preached at Cockey-chapel to a great congregation; dined at cousin Dickenson's; came to Rochdale: Thursday, preached at the chapel there: Friday, home." We collect from this, that the Non-Conformists in Lancashire had not been less forward in the work of erecting meeting-houses and forming themselves into distinct congregations than those of Yorkshire.

July 30. "About ten o'clock my young ministers came, Mr. Priestley, Mr. Lister, Mr. Bairstow, Mr. Bla-

mire, Mr. Walker ; began with prayer ; we conferred upon three questions I had proposed to them ; I concluded with prayer."

August 10. "Rode to Bingley : 11, writ the Profession of Faith ; went after prayer to Joseph Lister's ; read it to them ; consulted with Mr. Farrand, Mr. Whalley, Thomas Leach, Michael Broadley, and others ; they thought well of it : I examined several communicants ; went to the chapel, prayed, preached ; then administered the Lord's Supper to thirteen or fourteen after they had subscribed that profession ; had them all at dinner at Robert Walker's ; discoursed."

August 14. "Set myself, to gratify cousin S. Angier, and in him Mr. Bury of Suffolk, in writing-down Non-Conforming ministers ; writ all Yorkshire, most of Lancashire."

In this month he visited his friends at Leeds and York. At Leeds he lodged at the house of Ralph Thoresby. While at York he visited Sir John Hewley at Bell-hall, who was then confined to his chamber in consequence of an accident which had happened a fortnight before, and who died soon after Mr. Heywood's visit.

On the 14th of October, two members of the congregation at Manchester, Mr. Wykes and Mr. Pinkerton, came to Northowram to invite Mr. Heywood to be their minister, in connexion with Mr. Chorlton, "in their spacious and famous meeting-place:" thus Mr. Heywood speaks of it. "They were so importunate that I could not tell what to say to them, but put it off that time ; they writ again and again, but I gave them a positive denial, that I was resolved to stay where I was." He was also about the same time invited to take half the service in the new chapel at Halifax, then just completed, with the younger minister, Mr. Priestley*. This

* The name of Priestley is intimately connected with the affairs of Non-Conformity in Yorkshire, and indeed in the whole kingdom, so that it may be proper to intimate that the minister of the name

also he declined ; but he preached the first sermon in the chapel on the 11th of November in this year*.

On November 25, Mr. Thomas Cotton, the son of Mr. Heywood's old friend Mr. Cotton of Denby, was ordained at Northowram. He had been with Mr. Heywood's sons both at Mr. Hickman's and Mr. Frankland's, and had afterwards travelled abroad with three Yorkshire gentlemen, Mr. Wentworth, Mr. Lister of Thornton, and Mr. Payler, son of Sir Watkinson Payler. Of this tour there is a large account in the 'Life of Mr. Cotton' annexed to his 'Funeral Sermon.' On his return he was tutor to Mr. Thomas, a grandson of Lord Wharton. He determined however to enter upon the regular performance of his duties in the Presbyterian ministry, and had several invitations to settle with congregations, but was unwilling to do so till he had received ordination ; whereupon he applied to Mr. Frankland and Mr. Heywood, who consented. Mr. Frankland however was unable to come, and the service was performed by three other surviving ejected ministers, namely, Mr. Heywood,

who was the first pastor of the Presbyterians at Halifax was not of the family of Dr. Joseph Priestley, who were Independents, attending the chapel at Heckmonwyke, of which Mr. Noble, and after him Mr. Kirkby, were the ministers. Mr. Priestley of Halifax was a member of a family long seated in that parish, of which the family of Priestley of White-Windows are now the representatives. He was the son of Jonathan Priestley of Westercroft, Mr. Heywood's friend, though there was an estrangement which lasted for ten years made up about this time. His wife was a daughter of John Brearcliffe, another friend of Mr. Heywood. He entered Frankland's academy in 1682, and continued the minister at Halifax till his death, in 1728, when Mr. Dickenson, successor to Mr. Heywood at Northowram, speaks of him as "a worthy eminent minister ; a great loss, especially to the congregations at Halifax and Bradford."

* It will easily be believed that the efforts of the Non-Conforming body at this period, great as they were, did not always keep pace with Mr. Heywood's own impatience. In a letter to his son, dated March 16, 1697, he thus speaks of what was done at Halifax :— "My poor neighbours Stock are not fully paid for the building Halifax chapel ; they that should be active are slack and selfish ; hitherto they have lived upon gift-preaching ; I was there the other Lord's day, but resolve to keep at home."—*Works*, vol. i. p. 428.

Mr. Dawson, and Mr. Johnson ; several younger ministers being present, as Mr. Priestley, Mr. Wright, Mr. Bairstow, Mr. Blamire, and Mr. Eli Dawson. In the report of his examination Mr. Heywood says that Mr. Cotton seemed to have forgotten his Greek and Hebrew by learning other languages, French, Italian, German, Dutch, but he had prepared an excellent Latin thesis on the question, *Quomodo probari potest quod sunt tres personæ in Trinitate?* Mr. Dawson and Mr. Johnson objected ; he answered solidly : he then made his confession of faith and answered to the questions in the Directory. As to the rest, it was in the usual form of the Presbyterian ordinations. Mr. Cotton was afterwards a minister of great eminence in London and its neighbourhood, and he as well as his near relative Dr. Samuel Wright were on what was considered the liberal and rational side in the great question which was agitated among the Non-Conformists respecting subscription to the Trinity in 1719.

1697.

February 17. This day Mr. Heywood received an invitation from a congregation in London to succeed Dr. Annesley in the pastorship. This he very wisely, at his time of life, declined. Some notes which he made in relation to this proposal afford us an insight into his pecuniary circumstances and his ministerial position generally at this period. He says, that his income from his chapel was little more than twenty pounds a-year ; that several of his former congregation had left him and gone to the new chapel at Halifax ; that however he had many hundreds of people at his chapel every Lord's day, and that the twelve or fourteen families who formed the whole villagery of Northowram, almost all came to hear him. In respect of his family affairs, his son John Heywood had lately taken to wife Mrs. Elizabeth Stacey of Ballifield, near Sheffield, "a spiritual child of Mr. Timothy Jollie," who had a fortune of 400*l.*, and he

had settled upon them the half of his estate at Little Lever.

In a letter written on March 16 to his younger son, he says, in allusion to this invitation, "I need not remove to greater places for worldly income; I have as much as I desire, more than I expected, and contrary to what I have deserved: let mine and others learn to trust God in the way of duty, by my example. God hath given me an agreeable wife, a pleasant habitation, a competent income, an affectionate people, health of body and a contented mind. Oh! who am I, that He hath brought me hitherto*?"

Yet there are some remarks made by him about the same time of a different complexion. Mary Lady Armine, a daughter of Henry Talbot, Esq., a younger brother of Gilbert Earl of Shrewsbury, a very religious and benevolent lady, had bequeathed certain sums of money to be distributed among poor ministers in the counties of Huntingdon, Derby, and York, where her estates lay. Mr. Stretton, the active and benevolent minister, of whom we have before spoken, had the chief management of the distribution, and the money for Yorkshire passed through the hands of his friend Ralph Thoresby of Leeds. Thoresby employed Mr. Heywood to make the special distribution of this money, and also of other monies from a fund established by the merchants of London for the benefit of poor ministers. After some details of the distribution he remarks, "All this and much more is given to other ministers, and not one penny to me; and, indeed, it is not because they denied me, but because I have not asked anything; yet I am apt to think scarce any of these ministers but they receive more of their people than I do." It appears, from further remarks on this subject, that, beside the twenty pounds a-year from his chapel, Lord Wharton, who was lately dead, had been accustomed to allow him two pounds a-year, and Lady Hewley commonly gave him five

* *Works*, vol. i. p. 427.

pounds a-year. When he travelled he had frequent presents from the persons at whose houses he preached. He received presents also for funeral sermons. His private estate consisted of fourteen pounds a-year from his Lancashire property, seven pounds a-year from lands at Sowerby, and rather more from lands in Holdworth. On the other hand, he had one of the duties of the primitive bishops to discharge, the maintaining hospitality ; entertaining many persons at his house every Lord's day, but especially on the days when the Lord's Supper was administered, which was every eighth Sunday. He had then usually twenty persons at his table, besides forty or fifty who were served with bread and broth and beer in the kitchen. A liberal man he was in everything, and such a man ought not to have had the least reason to complain ; he had also too noble a mind to stoop to solicitation. It is however to be remembered, that at the period of which we are speaking the demands were very large upon the resources of all who bore the dissenting name ; and those ministers of whom he speaks might really have required it more.

In March he was employed in writing a preface to a treatise of Mr. Frankland's written against a Socinian, a " scoffing adversary," as Mr. Frankland calls him in a letter which accompanied the manuscript, which letter is now among Thoresby's ' Autographs of Divines ' in the British Museum. The work was printed, but I have never seen it ; nor is Mr. Heywood's preface included in the collection of his works.

In the summer of this year he was in frequent correspondence with Thoresby, the inquisitive antiquary of Leeds, communicating with him on the subject of the funds for the relief of poor ministers, on the state of the Non-Conformist body, and on the lives of ministers who had been fellow-sufferers with himself under the Act of Uniformity. The Thoresbys had been among the most zealous of the Leeds Non-Conformists, and a mind of deeper piety than that of the antiquary of the family

has rarely been formed. Thoresby however, partly through having been led to feel some of the evils which attend the good in separation from the Church by what he thought undue assumption in the minister, Mr. Manlove, who was then at the chapel at Mill-hill, and partly perhaps owing to the influence of the peculiar studies to which he was from his youth strongly inclined, in disposing the mind to view the *Old Paths* more favourably perhaps than they deserve, was coming to the resolution of returning to the Church. It was even rumoured that he was intending to qualify under the Corporation Act, that he might become a member of the Corporation of Leeds. In reference to this rumour Mr. Heywood wrote to him, on the 7th of August, thus:—"If you be Alderman and Mayor of Leeds, I hope you'll not forsake your old friends, or forget that concern you have espoused. I am not able to advise you; but be sure you keep faith and a good conscience; act by Scripture rules, walk uprightly, maintain communion with God and his people, and aim at God's glory; and God Almighty bless you and yours." Thoresby was a truly good and conscientious man, and his heart would approve the freedom of an old friend for whom he entertained a high esteem*.

On the 12th of August Mr. Heywood was engaged in the ordination of Mr. Jonas Blamire, a native of Halifax, educated under Mr. Frankland, and then settled at Durham. The ordination was in the chapel at Halifax, and Mr. Heywood, Mr. Priestley, Mr. Smith and Mr. Wright were the ordaining ministers. His thesis was on a deep point of divinity—*An idiomata unius naturæ in Christo*

* Much respecting Thoresby's conformity in this year may be seen in his 'Diary and Correspondence.' It was a subject of long reflection, and at last the question was brought to this point—Whether matters indifferent in their own nature become not necessary as to our obedience to them, when commanded by lawful authority?—See *Diary and Correspondence*, 8vo, 1830, vol. i. p. 326. Thoresby's conformity was not a step taken by him but after a great deal of reflection and reading.

toti personæ vere possint attribui, etiamsi alteri naturæ sunt incommunicabilia? He made a learned confession of faith.

August 29. "Sunday: Morning I sought God for the important work of that day, which was to dedicate the new meeting-place at West-gate End in Wakefield; went thither; we found it full betimes; I read Exodus xx.; prayed; preached on Jeremiah ii. 4, to a vast number; dined at William Lawton's; rid to Mr. Samuel Wadsworth's; lodged there." This was the chapel built for the congregation that had been accustomed to meet at Alverthorpe, a village a mile or more distant from the town where most of the congregation lived.

September 12. "It was quarter-day; four pounds twelve shillings were brought to the table; it's enough; blessed be God!"

September 26, he preached at the chapel at Elland to a full assembly. This place is in the parish of Halifax, and the chapel had arisen chiefly by the exertions of the family of Brooksbank, who resided there, and liberally endowed it and a school connected with it.

December 18. "Had three letters out of Lancashire, whereby I understood my mother-in-law's death." He means, I believe, the second wife of his father; and this is almost the only notice of her in his remains.

In this year he published his funeral discourse entitled 'Heavenly Converse.'

1698.

May 26. "Spent some time in prayer for the solemnity at Rathmel, where I should have been." It was an ordination, when nine young ministers who had been educated under Mr. Frankland* were ordained by him and Mr. Carrington, Mr. Aldred, Mr. Gamaliel Jones, Mr. Kershaw, Mr. Mitchel, Mr. Benson, Mr. Joseph Heywood, and Mr. Anderton. Mr. Heywood

* Namely, Mr. Bowes, Mr. Taylor, Mr. John Jollie, Mr. Travis, Mr. Worthington, Mr. Dickenson, Mr. Vaughs, Mr. Taylor, junior, and Mr. Peters.

observes incidentally, that Mr. Frankland had at that time fifty scholars. Mr. Jollie's academy at Attercliffe was also at that time in celebrity.

Mr. Frankland was then, and for some time preceding, in infirm health, and on the first of October he died. Mrs. Frankland was desirous that a full account of his life should be published together with the sermon preached on occasion of his decease. Mr. John Owen, who had assisted Mr. Frankland in the academy, wrote to Mr. Whitaker of Leeds, one of Mr. Frankland's earliest pupils, requesting him to contribute what information he could give respecting his former tutor, and also respecting his son, Mr. Richard Frankland, who had died when just arrived at manhood. Mr. Heywood was also applied to, and he writes in his Diary, on October 10, that he spent most part of the day in writing Mr. Frankland's life. No such work appears however to have been published.

At this period he was much employed in committing to paper his reminiscences of his friends in the ministry, particularly those of Lancashire, Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Pendlebury, Mr. Newcome, Mr. Seddon, and Mr. Lever. There is reason to think that the greater part of the accounts given of the ministers in Lancashire and Yorkshire by Dr. Calamy may be traced to their origin in the notes of Mr. Heywood.

But his labours of this kind were not confined to the biography of particular ministers. Under July 19 he writes, "Set myself to answer Mr. Stretton's proposal from London to give him an account of our meetings of ministers, the state of our congregations. I writ almost a sheet of paper:" and in a letter to Mr. Jollie, whom he designates as "the only brother in this world of the old stock left to him," dated October 21, he says that he has written a large account of nineteen congregations in our parts, but doubts whether it will be possible to maintain quarterly correspondence in our large county, or send up delegates to London. He thinks it

however fit to do anything they can to propagate the Gospel and reformation, yea and reunion; "though, alas! we can do little to cool and qualify the heats in the great metropolis, which bode ill to the land. Of old, British contests brought on Saxon conquests. Alas! that good men should misconstrue and mistake each other! *Tantæne animis cælestibus iræ?* Will there be anger or shame at ourselves for it in heaven?" He alludes to the doctrinal disputes between the Presbyterians and Independents in London, which had broken up the union of 1692.

November 22. "Designed to begin a great work, of writing my farewell sermons."

November 29. "Letter from Manchester; strange news of Mr. Chorlton's assistant running away*."

In this year he published his Discourse entitled 'The General Assembly, or a Discourse of the Gathering of all Saints to Christ;' which arose, he tells us, out of his musings on the "great number of believers who had

* This is a remarkable incident in the early history of one of the principal congregations of Non-Conforming Presbyterians in Lancashire, that which now assembles at the chapel in Cross Street, Manchester. It shows how hastily and inconsiderately they proceeded in the choice of a minister to be joined with Mr. Chorlton, when Mr. Heywood had declined the proposal made to him. The person chosen was an entire stranger, of whose origin, education, and previous habits and character they knew nothing, and who was then passing under a name which there was reason found afterwards to believe did not belong to him. He was however a man of much learning, address, and eloquence. After remaining with them about a year he suddenly disappeared, taking with him a horse which belonged to Mr. Greaves, one of the congregation; and nothing would probably have been at this time known of him had he not happened to visit Hull, where lived at that time Mr. Abraham De la Pryme, a clergyman, who was a man of much curiosity and diligence in recording what he heard and knew that was remarkable. In this person's *Ephemeris* I found the above particulars and something more. He called himself at Hull Mr. Midgely, and represented himself as being with his brother, Dr. Midgely, the author of the 'Turkish Spy.' While at Manchester he had been called Mr. Gaskeld. He passed from Hull to Holland. De la Pryme persuaded himself that he was a Jesuit in disguise.

breathed their last, ministers and Christians, formerly and lately, known and unknown, whom I shall now never see in this world." How suitable a subject for a minister's thoughts, himself approaching the period when he also should be joined to the great multitude!

In this year also he prepared for the press a treatise left by his intimate friend Mr. Sharp, the minister at Leeds, who died in 1693. It is entitled 'Divine Comforts antidoting inward Perplexities of Mind,' the only printed work of Mr. Sharp, who was an excellent preacher and greatly esteemed by his friends, and by none more than by Thoresby, who has left a very affecting account of his last moments. Mr. Heywood wrote the Life of Mr. Sharp which is prefixed to the work. He was in correspondence on this business with the brother of Mr. Sharp, Abraham Sharp, a well-known name in science.

1699.

January 19. Mr. Heywood preached at the funeral of a daughter of Mr. Matthew Smith, the minister at Mixenden, who was buried at the chapel there; one of the first notices I have observed of interments at the newly-erected meeting-houses*.

January 23. "Writ a letter to Mr. Sylvester of Sheffield." He does not say on what subject; and I introduce the quotation merely for the purpose of showing that Mr. Heywood was known to this good man, who was a principal person among the Non-Conformists of Sheffield, and who, in the year 1700, laid the first stone of the building now called the Upper Chapel, in which Mr. Timothy Jollie was the first minister †.

* This Mr. Smith, the first of the early ministers who defended a more rational Christianity, was the father of Mr. Smith who was minister at Bradford, and grandfather of another Mr. Smith who was the minister at Selby, and is now (1842) living, a minister *Emeritus*.

† He mentions this fact in his will, desiring to be buried near the place. His grave-stone still remains, having the following inscription:—"Field Sylvester, son of Joshua and Judith Sylvester of

January 31. He was employed in making catalogues of ministers; and he particularly remarks, that he had ascertained that not fewer than twenty-two young ministers who had been educated under Mr. Frankland were then dead.

May 24. He was engaged with two Mr. Dawsons, senior and junior, in the ordination of three other ministers, Mr. Benson, Mr. Bairstow, and Mr. Denton, at the chapel at Warley.

October 15. "Timothy Bancroft and Jonathan Priestley had some discourse about Mr. Smith's principles: I interposed a little." Mr. Smith had written a long explanatory letter to Mr. Heywood; and there was soon after a paper circulated among his neighbours containing a statement of his peculiarities. It was not till the next year that Mr. Smith's publications appeared, in which they are stated and defended.

December 5. "Understanding by my son Eliezer's letter that he, his brother, and Mr. Timothy Jollie were to keep a private fast this day at Mr. Rotherham's of Dronfield about my son Eliezer marrying his daughter, I resolved to spend part of the day alone in this work." The marriage, which was brought about by Mrs. Taylor of Walling-wells, with whom Mr. E. Heywood still continued to reside in the character of chaplain, was soon after celebrated.

The dedication to his 'Nephews and others of his Natural Relations in Lancashire,' prefixed to his treatise entitled 'The Two Worlds, Present and Future, Visible and Invisible,' is dated December 30, 1699.

1700.

In this year Mr. Heywood's health was fast giving Mansfield, born May 11, 1654; expired May 10, 1717. 'He that hath mercy on the poor, happy is he,' Prov. xiv. 21." His only daughter was the wife of Mr. John Wadsworth, who succeeded Mr. Jollie, and mother of Mr. Field Sylvester Wadsworth, successor to his father, who with Mr. Haynes, his colleague, had taken up what were considered by the other ministers heretical notions before the middle of the last century.

way, and we have very few incidents to relate. Yet his care of the dissenting churches appears in the attention which he paid to a great dispute which had arisen between the Craven congregation and Mr. Kirshaw their minister; on which occasion he wrote the letter to Mr. Jollie, which is engraved in fac-simile in the edition of the Works of Mr. Heywood. He speaks with great concern of this and other differences which had arisen even thus early in the Non-Conforming body, and expresses his sorrow if “ Dr. Stillingfleet should be a true prophet, ‘ Let the Dissenters alone, and they will destroy themselves.’ ”—“ If my ink, or breath or blood would afford a plaister, I should rejoice.” He knew not what to advise. The Dissenters had begun without making provision for cases such as those.

Another thing which in this year deeply interested him and disturbed his quiet was, the publication by Mr. Smith of a volume in which he explained the new views which he took of the imputation of Christ’s righteousness. He entitled it, ‘ The True Notion of Imputed Righteousness, and our Justification thereby; being a supply of what is lacking in the late book of that most learned person Bishop Stillingfleet,’ &c. ; and it was followed in the same year by ‘ A Defence of the foregoing Doctrine against some growing Opposition among Neighbours; Ministers, and others.’ This appears to have been the first promulgation from the press of opinions deemed heretical, by a Yorkshire Non-Conforming minister. Mr. Smith had been ordained to the ministry by Mr. Heywood himself. The book excited alarm and concern. Mr. Heywood, on the 21st of December, wrote thus to Mr. Jollie:—“ We have another breach made in our parts by Mr. Matthew Smith, preaching, and printing a book against the imputation of Christ’s righteousness for justification, that *Articulus stantis aut cadentis Ecclesiæ*, as Luther calls it. I am much concerned about it; because it diverts people from the main practical things to endless disputes; besides the perniciousness of the doctrine. I have charity for him, though [some] men have

not; and others admire him. I bless the Lord we have peace among our people." Had Mr. Heywood lived twenty years longer he would have seen still wider departures from what he deemed the truth, in the Non-Conforming ministry, for which a preparation was now being laid.

1701.

Another year of declining health and diminished power of exertion. But we find him still intent on his Master's work, and delighting himself in his frequent private devotions. He is still discomposed about Mr. Kirshaw's disputes in Craven and Mr. Smith's want of orthodoxy*. Mr. Timothy Jollie, without having seen the book, attributed it to the want of proper humility in Mr. Smith, and writes thus to Mr. Heywood concerning it:—"I do heartily condole with you in the apprehension the common adversary will gain by these efforts; but I trust the faith of the martyrs and glorious reformers will not be abandoned to novellists." The spirit however of free inquiry which had manifested itself in the Puritan body in earlier times, when it touched only petty matters and brought them to the test of Scripture, was now beginning to take a wider range, and to comprehend within its reach far higher subjects, and was not to be checked by appeals to ancestry and the opinions of ancient or later martyrs.

Another subject of disquietude arose out of the affairs of the congregation at Bingley.

December 11, "Set myself to write a letter to Mr. Lister, in answer to his concerning that great dispute of his removing from Bingley." Without principles, rules, or government, it is greatly to the credit of the Non-Conforming body that not more clashings have occurred

* Mr. Smith was, as we have seen, one of the first of those who entered the Non-Conforming ministry after the time of the ejection. He was a native of York, and educated by Mr. Ralph Ward, the minister particularly patronized by Lady Hewley, and whose daughter was the wife of Dr. Colton.

in the congregations during the hundred and fifty years of their existence.

Of the state of his health at the beginning of the year he writes cheerfully thus:—"I bless God we are in tolerable health; short-windedness in walking is my only malady; I can study as long and preach as loud as formerly." Again, in June, "My asthmatic fits afflict me, and constant shortness of breathing; but I am studying-sound, preaching-sound, though not walking- nor riding-sound. My last and best journey will be to the up-hill city, where I long to be; but am content to tarry God's time and do his work." These expressions occur in a letter to one of his sons*, in which he thus draws in a few words what was really a great part of his character as a minister:—"Mr. Noble thinks of printing his other piece upon the Apocalypse; but *nullus sum in prophetiis, et puer in dogmaticis, et nolens in polemicis, sed volens in practicis; senectute jam gravidus.*"

In the winter he was unable to walk even the short distance to his chapel. His people provided him a chair. December 5, "John Learoyd and Joshua Stocks carried me in my new chair to the chapel."

In this year he published his last work, 'Christ's Intercession.'

1702.

We have now reached the concluding year of the good man's life; and we find him, beside his public and private devotional offices, chiefly employing himself in recollecting the friends of his youth and those who had been his companions in his trials and adversities.

January 10, "John Clay came, having dispatched his writing Yorkshire and Lancashire ministers." January 12, "I set upon reading and correcting all the lives of Lancashire ministers, to be sent with the Yorkshire ones to London; they took up much time, labour. Writ a letter to go with them by the carrier." January 19,

* *Works*, vol. i. p. 429.

“ I set myself to write to Mr. Thoresby at Leeds, and sent him some lives.” January 26, “ I writ a letter to Mr. Priestley concerning Mr. Frankland’s life.”

He was still tormented with Mr. Smith’s heresies. February 1, “ Spoke to Warley people ; they refused to dismiss Mr. Smith.” February 15, “ Talked about Mr. Smith’s remove to Bingley.” February 17, “ About one o’clock came Mr. Dawson, Mr. Priestley, Mr. Bairstow, to consult about Mr. Smith’s staying at Warley or removing to Bingley ; we framed a paper, subscribed our hands to it.” The ministers must have perceived that irregular tribunals like this were but an indifferent substitute for courts which administered ecclesiastical affairs according to law and precedent. On the 1st of March, “ Warley people dined with me ; told me Mr. Smith would not leave them after all this hurry.”

For the few weeks which remain I shall make my extracts from his Diary more abundant ; they will show the frame of his spirit as he drew towards his end.

March 10, “ John Priestley called ; told me sad tidings of King William’s death. 11, Jeremiah Baxter came, and said the news of King William’s death was not true, but he was much out of order. 12, I sought God ; after family prayer I went into my chamber ; designed to spend that forenoon in prayer ; began at nine o’clock, sought God, confessed my sins ; was helped about an hour, having read Psalm xxxviii. ; then read xlii. Psalm ; prayed for my wife, children, relations, congregation ; then read a chapter ; pleaded with God for king, kingdom, Church, but was dull, distracted. After dinner old Jonathan Priestley came with the sad certain news of King William’s death ; I went to my study ; prayed. 13, I sought God ; had mercy ; set myself to write reflections on the sad news of King William’s death. 15, Sunday, which was the day of my baptizing at Bolton seventy-two years ago, I set out to my chapel ; prayed ; preached on 1 Peter iii. 21, about answering baptism ; God helped in twelve several cases ; we had

nine or ten at dinner ; Jonathan Priestley, his son Jonathan ; stayed after ; God helped. 18, Jeremiah Baxter came, and told me John Lambert, Esq. was to be buried this day. 22, Went to my chapel on men's shoulders. 29, I waited on God, as I was able ; was carried to my chapel ; prayed ; preached on Mark xvi. 17 ; God helped ; administered the Lord's Supper, but was weary with walking ; got J. P. to serve the rest ; had help in the afternoon ; we had many at dinner."

April 3, " Enoch Halstead came ; brought me a letter from Sir Charles Hoghton. 12, Mr. Nathaniel Priestley offered his service to preach for me all day, for he said Mr. William Perkins, that married Alice Mitchel that week, would preach for him at Halifax. He did pray and preach all day very well. 16, My son John and I went into my chamber, spent some time in prayer before family prayer ; he prayed then ; I went to my study ; was called down to Mr. Hartley, preacher at Luddenden, come to visit me ; once our schoolmaster ; stayed awhile, then went away ; I fell to my writing work after dinner ; had assistance." 19, Sunday, " I had slept little, taking thought about my work ; but when I was carried to my chapel and standing two hours in expounding Job ix., praying, preaching from 2 Tim. ii. 19, I was helped forenoon and after beyond expectation : blessed be God !"—All this week he was very ill ; his complaint was asthma, the disease of ministers. 26, Sunday, " I was little fit for the work of that day, yet made a venture ; read Job xiv. ; did pray, but was straitened ; preached on 2 Tim. ii. 19 ; finished it ; had several dined with us ; finished that text ; Jonathan Bancroft prayed with us at noon ; some came in at night ; I was very weary." All the rest I shall transcribe : —" Monday morning, April 27, I was ill ; had much ado to get into my chamber ; came down, kept down all day ; began to write, but was not able ; Mr. Wright came ; Mr. Bairstow came ; went to prayer with me ; old William Walker ; I sent for Jonathan Priestley ; his

father and he came both ; discoursed ; took my will to copy it ; we discoursed many things ; I was something better in the afternoon : blessed be God. Tuesday morning, 28, I was not able to go up into my chamber ; prayed below ; had company ; came Jonathan Priestley, John Holdworth, Samuel Drake, John Learoyd, to seal my will ; was a little assisted in afternoon in the parlour ; Samuel Holdworth came. Wednesday morning, 29, I had help to get up, and my wife left me in the parlour ; we went to family prayer ; God helped ; I had many visitors ; William Clay came, went to prayer with me ; Elizabeth Mary Ramsden, Grace Ramsden, James Tetlaw, Anthony Naylor, young Jonathan Priestley, his father ; went to prayer with me ; other company.”

On Monday, the 4th of May, he died.

He left the place and manner of his interment to the discretion of his executor, who was his wife, assisted by Mr. Jonathan Priestley as supervisor. They buried him in Holdsworth's Works in the church of Halifax, where many years before his mother was laid, and where many of the early Puritans of that parish had been laid to rest. There was a great assembly of friends, ministers, and others at his funeral*.

There is no memorial of him now to be found in that church.

By his will he gave his copyhold lands at Northowram

* Amongst others was Ralph Thoresby, who came accompanied by Mr. Peters, the minister at Mill Hill Chapel in Leeds. “ May 7, rode with Mr. Peters to Northowram to the funeral of good old Mr. O. Heywood. He was interred with great lamentations in the parish church at Halifax ; was surprised at the following *arvill*, or treat of cold possets, stewed prunes, cake and cheese, prepared for the company, where had several Con. and Non-Con. ministers and old acquaintance.”

Feasts at funerals were an ancient custom of England, and then common in the north, and the practice is not now wholly discontinued. There substantial food is often provided. Mr. Heywood remarks, as a deviation from the usual practice of the people of Halifax, that at the funeral of Mrs. Briggs of Boys-town, July 3, 1673, the persons invited had “ nothing but a bit of cake, draught of wine, piece of rosemary, and pair of gloves.”

to his wife for life, with remainder to his youngest son ; his other lands in Yorkshire to her for life, with remainder to his grandson Timothy, the son of John. A mortgage on a house in Ovenden he gave to his wife. His lands at Little Lever and elsewhere in Lancashire to his eldest son. He gave to his wife certain books, plate, his watch, and his "picture hanging in the parlour." His other books and his manuscripts he directs shall be divided equally between his two sons. He gave a small legacy to Susanna Tillotson, an old servant.

The portrait here spoken of, of which there is an excellent engraving prefixed to the edition of his works, represents him in his preaching dress, a gown and small band, with the black cap of the old Puritan over a profusion of natural locks. He holds a small bible in his hand. In his countenance there is an expression of great good-humour, and the whole figure does not give the impression of his being at all attenuated by his severe fastings and labours.

His widow survived him till the year 1707.

The house in which he lived still exists, with the initial letters of his name and the word "Ebenezer," and the date 1677 carved on a stone over the door. But it has been divided into two or more small tenements. The people who inhabit it have an obscure tradition that it was once the abode of a persecuted minister who preached in the night to an assembly outside from a window in the back part of the house.

The chapel which he erected was standing, little changed, till 1836 ; in which year it was taken down, and a much larger chapel erected on a site not far removed, which bears on its front the inscription, "Heywood Chapel."

In the old chapel were several memorials of other ministers, but none of Mr. Heywood, the founder, except the cypher before mentioned over the door.

His successor in the ministry at Northowram was Mr. Thomas Dickenson, a man not unlike Mr. Heywood,

who had previously been minister at the chapel at Gorton, near Manchester. He was more than forty years the minister at Northowram, and at his death was succeeded by Mr. Robert Hesketh, who died in 1774. Times had then greatly changed with the regular Presbyterian ministry, and rural Presbyterianism had become greatly reduced in the number of congregations and the number of persons composing them. Northowram has since had ministers belonging to the Independent denomination. I passed through the village on a week-day evening in August 1822, when Mr. White, one of them, was addressing at the communion table a small body of his congregation, who appeared deeply attentive and interested in his discourse. It was like the older times of Non-Conformity.

Of the ejected ministers who had acted with him, Mr. Heywood left surviving Mr. Jollie, who died in 1703, Mr. Johnson, who died in 1707*, Mr. Prime, who died in 1708, and Mr. Dawson, who died in 1709. Mr. Jonas Waterhouse, who had been ejected at Bradford, outlived all these, but he does not seem to have been much concerned in the proceedings of the northern Non-Conformists.

Of Mr. Heywood's two sons, John survived his father little more than two years, dying in 1704, being then the minister at Pontefract, leaving a son, who died early in life without issue. Eliezer left Walling-wells and went to reside at Dronfield, where his wife's family lived, and had there a small rural congregation, to whom he ministered till his death in 1730. He left a son of his own name who was also a minister to the Presbyterian congregation at Mansfield, where he died in 1783. Mr.

* It is remarkable how little is said of Mr. Johnson by Dr. Calamy. The inscription on his tomb in the churchyard of Sandal near Wakefield will supply some further particulars:—"Hic jacet corpus Thomæ Johnson de Painsthorp, olim de Collegio Divi Johannis in Academia Cantabrigiensi, Artium Magistri; qui Naturæ debitum solvit 14^o die Julii anno dom. 1707, ætatis suæ 78."

Heywood of Mansfield left three sons, the eldest of whom, Mr. Samuel Heywood, a solicitor at Nottingham, died at the age of thirty-four in 1789. His only son left no male issue. One of the younger sons of Mr. Heywood of Mansfield died in 1841, leaving a son.

The posterity of Mr. Nathaniel Heywood, the brother of Mr. Heywood, are to be traced only through his grandson Benjamin Heywood, who settled at Drogheda. He had three sons, Arthur, Benjamin, and Nathaniel, who all returned to England, and were the founders of families still existing.

1. Arthur settled at Liverpool, where he died in 1795. His first wife brought him an only daughter, the grandmother of the present Lord Ashtown; but by his second wife, who was a daughter of Mr. Richard Milnes of Wakefield, a principal member of a distinguished Non-Conforming family in that town, he had four sons, two of whom were settled at Liverpool and two at Wakefield. Neither of the Liverpool gentlemen left issue; but Benjamin Heywood of Wakefield and Stanley-hall left a son, Arthur Heywood, Esq., the eldest male descendant of the first Nathaniel. John Pemberton, the other son of Arthur, was an eminent barrister on the Northern Circuit, lately dead, leaving a son, Peter Heywood, Esq., and many other children.

2. Benjamin: he also settled at Liverpool, where he died in 1795. He had three sons, of whom the eldest was Samuel Heywood, Esq., serjeant-at-law, and one of the Welsh judges. He left no son. Benjamin Arthur Heywood, another son, died unmarried; so that the issue of Nathaniel, who married a daughter of Dr. Thomas Percival, the eminent physician at Manchester, became the only representatives of this branch. The eldest son, Benjamin Heywood, Esq., of Claremont, near Manchester, was some time member of parliament for the county of Lancaster, and was created a baronet in 1838. He has a numerous issue. Of the other surviving sons, Thomas, Richard, and James, two of them have issue.

3. Nathaniel: he entered the army, and rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He was gentleman of the bedchamber to the Duke of Gloucester, brother to King George the Third. His descendants are settled in Hampshire.

Such have been the fortunes of the descendants of the two brothers.

So many biographical accounts of the early ministers were printed about this period, and Mr. Heywood had himself prepared so many, of which the lives of his father-in-law, Mr. Angier, and his brother, Mr. Nathaniel Heywood, had been printed, that it is rather matter of surprise that neither of his sons prepared any biographical account of him out of the abundant materials which he had left, and their own intimate knowledge of everything concerning him. But in fact there was the intention of doing this; for Mr. John Heywood, writing to Thoresby on September 27, 1703, says, "I am doing what I can to forward my father's life, but necessary and unavoidable occasions retard; nor do I find it so easy to do it to purpose as at first sight it might seem to be." In the next year he speaks of his severe indisposition taking him off from his design.

There is a traditionary remembrance of him through the whole Non-Conforming body in the West Riding of Yorkshire and in Lancashire as of a man of eminent piety, great exertion, and uncommon usefulness. Reference has been occasionally made to him in the writings of the Presbyterian ministry of later times, and always with great respect. A small volume, containing some account of his life by Dr. Fawcett of Ewood-hall, was twice printed; and a much larger account, in which the materials to which I have been so much indebted were employed, was prefixed to a collection of his works, extending to five octavo volumes, in the present century.

With one testimony from a contemporary minister, Mr. Tong, who was one of the ministers educated by Frankland, I shall conclude the present chapter:—

“ Surely, when we think of such men as Mr. Bagshaw, Mr. Newcome, Mr. Henry, Mr. Heywood, Mr. Thomas Jollie, Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Spilsbury, Mr. Cross, &c., and consider how fully they followed God, how they preached and how they prayed, how they lived and how they died, that admonition should sound in our ears, ‘ Be not slothful, but followers of those that through faith and patience have inherited the promises.’ It would be sad indeed if the remembrance of their piety, humility, candour, undissembled love to one another, should only serve to shame and condemn a contrary spirit in us that enter into their labours. If we be like them, and do like them, God will be with us as he was with them ; but if we give way to an envious, proud, selfish, vain, contentious spirit, we are told by that admirable man, Mr. John Corbet, what will be the consequence ; either we shall extinguish the light of the Gospel, or the light of the Gospel will extinguish us*.”

* *Prefatory Letter to the Short Account of the Life and Character of the Rev. W. Bagshaw*, p. xxi.

CHAPTER XVIII.

NUMBERS OF THE NON-CONFORMISTS.—YORKSHIRE CONGREGATIONS.—PRESBYTERIAN DISSENTERS NOT A SECT NOR A CHURCH.—ERECTION OF THEIR CHAPELS.—TRUSTEES.—MODE OF CONDUCTING SERVICE.—WANT OF RECOGNIZED RULES.—ELECTION OF MINISTERS.—MEANS OF SUPPORT.—EMINENT BENEFACTORS: LADY HEWLEY; THE HOLLISES; DR. DANIEL WILLIAMS.—ACADEMIES.—LEARNING OF THE EARLY MINISTERS.—ORDINATIONS.—MEETINGS OF MINISTERS.—THE LONDON MINISTERS.—ABSENCE OF A CREED.—PRINCIPLE OF FREE INQUIRY.—STATE OF THE RELIGIOUS WORLD AT THE BEGINNING OF DISSENT.—DISREGARD OF THE REQUIREMENT OF SUBSCRIPTION BY THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY.—THEIR WANT OF UNION A MAIN CAUSE OF THEIR SUBSEQUENT DECLINE.—OTHER CAUSES.—CHANGES CONSEQUENT ON THE ASSERTION OF THE RIGHT OF PRIVATE JUDGMENT.—INTRODUCTION OF ARIANISM.—SOCINIANISM.—MR. LINDSEY.—DR. PRIESTLEY.—RETURNS TO THE CHURCH.—GREAT EFFECT OF METHODISM.—EXTINCTION OF MANY OF THE YORKSHIRE CONGREGATIONS.—THE PRESBYTERIANS STILL AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN ENGLISH SOCIETY.

IN the same manner in which we have seen Mr. Heywood spending his life were many other of the Puritan ministers employed when they found themselves excluded from the National Church by the requisitions of the Act of Uniformity. It was first, that is, till the year 1687, an open defiance of the law by the performance of religious rites and the conducting religious services wherever opportunities were presented to them; and from that period to the close of their lives, the acting as pastors and ministers of particular communities of men who preferred their ministry, or who, for whatever reason, refused to conform to the Church, which they were allowed to do on certain easy terms prescribed by the Act of Toleration.

These Non-Conforming communities, which exceeded a thousand, and were scattered with almost an equal hand through all the dioceses in the kingdom, were arranged under the denominations of Presbyterian, Independent, and Baptist. Enough has been said in the former parts of this work to show whence arose these distinctions and the peculiar characteristics of each body. These form what are called the Three Denominations; and under one or other of these denominations the tolerated communities and pastors ranked themselves, till there arose, about half a century later, other dissenting communities in another schism, and resting on different principles. The very extravagant sects which had arisen in the time of the Commonwealth had by this time passed away, except the Quakers, and they never united themselves with the three denominations. They had more extreme opinions and more marked peculiarities. In particular they abolished the Sacraments and the office of minister or pastor. Their history, like that of the Baptists, is a distinct chapter in the Church History of Britain; but they, as well as the Presbyterians and the Independents, are fragments of the great Puritan wave, which, rising at the very beginning of the Reformation, had gradually swelled till it had borne down all before it, and was at last broken and dispersed, not so much by the determined opposition which was presented to it in the reign of Charles the Second, as by the milder policy which was adopted at the Revolution.

The following is given as the number of persons in England belonging to the three great bodies of Christian professors, returned to an Order of Council in January 1688:—

In the province of Canterbury, Conformists, 2,123,362; Non-Conformists, 95,151; Papists, 11,878.

In the province of York, Conformists, 353,892; Non-Conformists, 15,525; Papists, 1987*.

* Copied in one of Cole's MSS. at the British Museum, vol. x. It makes the Non-Conformists but about one-twenty-fourth of the whole population.

In the West Riding of Yorkshire, which had been the principal scene of Mr. Heywood's labours, the number of communities of Non-Conformists each having its own pastor, and where the community was large, two pastors, was forty at the time when the Toleration Act took them under the protection of the law. These were all either Presbyterian or Independent, the Baptists not having at that period established any permanent and regular congregation in the county. They were nearly all Presbyterian. The congregations at Heckmonwyke and at Topcliffe, and the Call Lane congregation at Leeds, were the most decidedly Independent in their first origin and principles. But in some places there was a union of persons of both sentiments, neither being strong enough of themselves to form a congregation and support a minister. The two parties united at Sheffield, where there was a remarkably zealous and able minister, Mr. Jollie; but on his death in 1715 the Independents withdrew themselves from the Presbyterians, and erected a second chapel for themselves. This was a solitary instance in the county of such a course being taken. The two denominations acted at first together on the terms of the agreement ratified at the meeting at Wakefield, till the doctrinal questions, which arose some time after, occasioned a final separation.

The aptitude of the population of the parish of Halifax to receive dissent, of which Dr. Whitaker speaks, appears very remarkably in the fact, that of the forty West Riding congregations there were seven in that parish alone. It may be taken also as some proof of the zeal and success of Mr. Heywood, and the respect paid to him. They had chapels at Halifax, Northowram, Mixenden, Warley, Eastwood, Sowerby, and Elland*.

* An eighth congregation is mentioned in a list formed in 1716 which met at Lightcliffe and had a pastor; but it was very small, and appears to have had no chapel, nor any long continuance. I say nothing in the text of four other very small West Riding congregations which are named in the list, namely, Rathmel, Garsdale, near Sedbergh, Newton in Bolland, and Greenhill, near Ripon.

The parish of Leeds presents a remarkable contrast. It was as populous as that of Halifax, and the inhabitants were employed in the same kind of manufactures; but no chapels arose in that parish, except the two in the town.

In the parishes bordering upon Halifax, and where Mr. Heywood was personally known and accustomed to preach in the dark days of Non-Conformity, there were congregations and chapels at the following places:—Bradford, Kipping, Keighley, Idle, Pudsey, Morley, Heckmonwyke, Cleck-Heaton, Topcliffe, Hopton, and Lidget: half the Yorkshire congregations were amongst the hills.

Further north were congregations at Bingley, Winterburn in Craven, where the Lamberts attended, and in Swale-dale, where Lord Wharton prepared a chapel for the benefit of his miners.

There were congregations at York, Selby, Clifford near Tadcaster, and Knaresborough. These were more particularly under the patronage of Lady Hewley.

In the district between the Aire and the Wharf no congregations appear to have been formed, notwithstanding the encouragement which was given to the ejected ministers by various members of the family of Fairfax, and by some other of the considerable families in that part of the county.

The aristocracy in the southern parts of the county, by whom Mr. Heywood was, as we have seen, frequently received at their houses, never founded a chapel, but service was for some years conducted at the hall at Walling-wells by a Non-Conformist minister. This was discontinued early in the succeeding century. The Westbys left the county*. The Hatfields and the Sta-

* Mr. Westby, Mr. Heywood's friend, gave up Ravenfield to his son, Wardell George Westby, member for Malton, on his marriage with a sister of the Earl of Holderness, and settled at Linton in Cambridgeshire, acting as a magistrate for that county. There was a small dissenting chapel there which he attended to the time of his death in 1747, and he was buried beneath the vestry floor. Cole

niforths of Firbeck continued connected with the Non-Conformists till the extinction of the two families. The Rodes' at Great Houghton had erected, as we have seen, a chapel there in the time of the Commonwealth. The Riches built a chapel near their residence at Bull-house, at which the Non-Conformists of the parish of Peniston assembled*. There were chapels and congregations at the market-towns of Wakefield, Pontefract, Barnsley, Rotherham, and Doncaster; also at the village of Fishlake in the Levels of Hatfield. And, finally, there were congregations at Sheffield and the neighbouring village of Attercliffe†; and another at Stannington, a wild region a few miles north of the town, where a chapel had been built and endowed in the time of the Commonwealth.

In 1716 the whole number of Dissenters in the parish of Halifax was estimated by themselves at 2330, of whom 500 were of the Northowram congregation. At Leeds of Milton, who may be believed when he says anything favourable of a Non-Conformist, speaks of him thus:—"I think he had been a member of parliament in the former part of his life, and was a most tediously ceremonious gentleman, but of an exceeding good character and very friendly." His son survived him about nine years, and with him the family became extinct.

* The two families of Riche and Rodes were united by the marriage of Richard Rodes, grandson of Sir Edward, with a daughter of Elkana Riche, son of Sylvanus, mentioned in a former part of this work. Her brother, Aymer Riche of Bull-house, died without issue in 1769. Their mother was a daughter of Richard Thorpe of Hopton, the minister so often mentioned by Mr. Heywood. Mr. Riche (who was one of Lady Hewley's trustees) left Bull-house and his other estates to the issue of Mrs. Rodes, who were two daughters; Mrs. Mary Rodes, who resided at the fine old Elizabethan hall at Great Houghton till her death in 1789, and Martha, the wife of Hans Busk, Esq. Great Houghton, Bull-house, and other estates descended to the two daughters of Mr. Busk, who married two Mr. Milnes' of Wakefield, namely, James Milnes of Thornes-house, Esq., and Richard Slater Milnes of Fryston, Esq., both of whom were in parliament. Several of the Milnes' have been members of Lady Hewley's trust.

† The chapel in Fullwood, near Sheffield, was not founded till 1724, the only instance of the foundation of a chapel by the old dissent after the first effort.

there were 600 persons of the Mill-hill or Presbyterian congregation, and 800 of the Call-lane or Independent congregation. The Wakefield congregation consisted of 400 persons; the Sheffield of 1163, beside the 200 who had lately withdrawn themselves and built the Nether chapel. The Morley congregation consisted of 450 persons, and the Independents of Heckmonwyke numbered 350. The Topcliffe Independents were only 60.

In the formation of the Independent congregations there was usually more of specialty and solemnity than appears to have been the case at the establishment of those which were Presbyterian, and an historical register was kept of all matters interesting to the congregation, such as the election of pastors and the disowning or the admission of members; so that it was known, with as much precision as it now is by the Quakers, who were members of the body. There was little if anything of this at the original setting out of the Presbyterians. The ministers received all comers who were disposed to leave the Church and place themselves under their pastorship; and though at first it appears to have been the case that some kind of permission was obtained from the minister before a person not before known was received to the Lord's table, yet even this soon fell into disuse, and the principle of open communion, as it was called, became very generally, if not universally, the principle of the Presbyterian congregations, which was in effect, that any person might join in the Sacraments, as well as in the worship, without any ostensible form of admission, just as he might in the National Church.

This is a remarkable circumstance, inasmuch as it shows that the Presbyterians when they became Dissenters did not aim at giving to themselves the character of a sect, one of whose chief characteristics it is that the edges are clear and defined, so that it is distinctly known who are and who are not belonging to it. And the same laxity in this respect, which prevailed from the beginning in each particular congregation, prevailed through the

whole community, in which it was not, in some cases, easy to say whether a congregation were properly of Presbyterian origin and principles or no. In fact, the object appears to have been from the beginning to obtain hearers, or persons on whom the ministers could work by the unrestricted ministrations, which appeared to them more efficient than the services of the Church, to the great and good purposes of all religious ministrations.

Each of the congregations had its own chapel, except in the few instances in which they met in the private mansion of some opulent friend to dissent; and the simultaneous erection of so many buildings devoted to this purpose must be regarded as a noble display of Christian liberality. The whole work was accomplished in less than twenty years. The period between 1687 and 1700 is the great æra of chapel building among the old Dissenters. Humble edifices it is true in most cases they were, and on which no further expense was bestowed than was requisite to provide a convenient place for public prayer, the administration of the Lord's Supper, and attendance on the preaching of the Word. The latter object had been all along a principal one with the Puritans, whose ministers were often styled, as their more appropriate designation, "preaching ministers;" and their successors, when they appeared in the form of Dissenters, were often by persons who did not like them called "Dissenting teachers." It cannot and need not be concealed that preaching was placed by them, perhaps too much, in advance of the devotional part of the service, and that the idea of places of religious assemblies being in any sense temples raised to the honour of the Almighty, and the service of each a part of the common offering of prayer and praise, was exploded by them. This led to the filling the chapels with pews and galleries, the system introduced at the Reformation, and which has nearly destroyed the symmetry and beauty of such ecclesiastical edifices as the ill-directed zeal of the

Reformers suffered to remain out of the many which the piety and the pure taste of our remoter ancestors had provided for us. In some of the large towns the chapels were capacious and substantial edifices. But in this point, of the absence of ornament from the chapels erected by the old Non-Conformists, which has been made matter of reproach against them, it is to be observed, that it was in part a needful frugality at a time when great exertion was required of all who bore the dissenting name, and in part a principle. They had inherited from their Puritan ancestors a contempt for everything external which sought to make the offices of religion attractive, believing that there was enough without it in the internal feeling; an erroneous principle undoubtedly, but still a principle, and as a principle to be respected; and they further saw that the splendid ecclesiastical edifices were, in their view of the matter, haunts of superstition and centres of spiritual despotism.

Besides the pews and galleries, the furniture of the chapels consisted of a table for the Lord's Supper and a pulpit. No font was placed in them, baptism having from the first been regarded more in the light of a domestic service than to signify and solemnize the admission of one who was to be a member of the Christian Church, or who was admitted even thus early to the privileges which attend on the being members of the Church of Christ. Reading-desks are rarely found in the old chapels. There was one at York, where probably a better taste prevailed, for it is easy to perceive the incongruity in offering the prayers of a congregation from a place that is elevated and prepared to be the seat of public instruction.

The chapels were usually places also for the interment of the more considerable families in the congregation. This appropriation of them came from the Church where the edifices appear to have been originally constructed with an especial view to this use being made of them. It was for this that the porches of the old churches of

England were crowded with sculptures of the Father, and of holy and eminent persons who had finished their course and entered into joy, and who were there, not as objects of idolatrous worship, but to suggest to the mind the hopes and privileges of the Christian. For a general burial-place there was usually a piece of ground adjoining the chapel.

The ground on which the chapels were erected was commonly purchased.

The expense of all this was borne in some instances by single families, but in general it was by the joint effort of the persons who were to compose the congregations.

They were usually registered in the manner prescribed by the Act of Toleration.

For their perpetual appropriation to the purposes for which they were erected, they were conveyed to a body of persons, usually the chief contributors and members of the congregation, to be held by them in trust for those purposes. As far as I have seen of the original trusts of these chapels, there is the same want of uniformity of system, and the same evidence of the want of any one common principle, as we find in so many other things belonging to Presbyterian dissent. They are most commonly said to be "for the worship of God by Protestant Dissenters." It is sometimes added, "of the Presbyterian denomination" or "of the Independent denomination," and sometimes "of the Presbyterian and Independent denominations" jointly. After this there is a general diversity in important respects; such as the mode in which the pastor shall be chosen; the removal of him, if that is touched upon at all; the duties of the pastor; the doctrine on which his exhortations shall be founded; the extent of the power of the trustees; and the manner in which vacancies in the trust shall be filled. All seems to have been settled according to the particular fancy of the members of each particular congregation, showing, what many other things show, that the Pres-

byterian Dissenters of England were from the beginning a body of persons acting by independent and desultory efforts, and not a church or even a sect, words which imply union, authority, and laws.

There has not even been any systematic depositing of the trust-deeds, or registration of them, though they are now the legal basis on which the possession of much valuable property rests. It is believed that when the congregations have continued, the vacancies have been regularly filled in the manner prescribed. Questions have sometimes arisen between congregations and their trustees. The great disputes at Sheffield in 1715 involved the question of the extent of trustee power.

The public services in these chapels were conducted in the manner which had been prescribed by the Directory of the Assembly of Divines. The whole of the service was left entirely to the taste and discretion of the minister. Lessons from the Old Testament and from the New were read, not prescribed but selected by the minister. An introductory prayer, the general or long prayer, and the intercessory prayer at the close, formed the devotional part of the service. Three or four psalms were sung, and there was rarely a meeting without a sermon. Such a thing as a liturgy is not to be heard of in the early days of Non-Conformity; and when the experiment was made in one of the congregations about the year 1765, an old and influential minister of the time speaks of it in these terms:—"They might as well conform at once." Indeed the question of free prayer and an established liturgy was one of the principal in the early controversies which led to dissent, and the use of free prayer by the Non-Conformists had much to do in drawing persons from the Church. In many congregations for free prayer has been substituted the use of written forms composed by the minister, a greater change than those who introduced it seem to have understood.

Instrumental music was very sparingly used, and great has at times been the contest when a proposal has been

made to introduce an organ into one of these places of worship. Indeed the unsuitableness of such an instrument to the general simplicity of these chapels, and the worship in them, might be sufficient to exclude them, were there no principle intervening. It was a principle inherited by the Puritans from the first reformers, who, amongst their other spoliations on the national taste, ruined our music. There were various collections of psalms and hymns; but the use of those by Dr. Watts, one of the early ministers, soon became general, who has hardly, till the late revival of a purer taste in poetry, been surpassed in this department.

Beside his two services on the Sunday, the minister had often to deliver a lecture, which was only another expression for conducting a religious service, on some day or evening in the middle of the week, and to catechise the children, and perform such other duties as fall to the lot of the public pastor.

In some congregations were persons, varying in number from two to six, called deacons, whose office was very undefined. Practically everything was vested in the minister or pastor, and the control over him by the congregation was not any constitutional power, but only that which resulted from the pleasure vested in them of continuing or withholding their contributions. The relation of minister and people in such communities is a very delicate one, and it cannot be but that difference of opinion will sometimes arise; yet when this was the case, neither minister nor people had ever anything to which to refer as containing an authoritative statement of the rights and duties of either party. This is a further proof of the want of care and foresight and union with which the Presbyterian Dissenters set out. Even the stability of the minister's right to the office, and the emoluments belonging to it, is not very well ascertained; that is, there is nothing to show what would vitiate the agreement by which he entered into possession. The understanding, for it was nothing more, appears from the beginning to

have been, that once regularly appointed, he could only be deprived on some charge of immorality being substantiated against him. The remedy which the congregation possessed in ordinary cases of neglect of duty was the withdrawing themselves and their subscriptions. We have seen in the case of Mr. Kirshaw, in which Mr. Heywood interested himself, that there were difficulties of this kind at the very beginning.

The election of the minister was vested usually in the congregation, but sometimes in the trustees. It was soon found that the word congregation by no means defines with sufficient accuracy the parties who are to make the election, and the interpretation of the word has been various. Sometimes it has been taken to mean all persons whatsoever who customarily attended the chapel; sometimes the persons only who had been accustomed to subscribe; sometimes, when the system of letting the pews at a certain sum assessed on each was introduced, the seat-holders only. In the Independent congregations the regularly admitted members of the Church had alone the choice, and this was with them a principle. Principle here the Presbyterians had none. It might have been presupposed that this unsettled state of things would lead to dissensions, and so undoubtedly it sometimes has done; but, practically, the system of popular election, even with the additional circumstance of no clear right vesting in any party, has not been found to work ill, it often happening that the congregation find it for their interest to defer to the opinion of one or two principal contributors. A principle also on which the ministers acted, as long as the ministry consisted of persons who had been regularly ordained, and which is highly honourable to them, of forbearing anything like canvass or solicitation, and waiting to be themselves invited, obviated much of the evil which is alleged against popular election to ecclesiastical offices by those who contend for the private nomination of the National Church as the more eligible mode. Again, another rule which congregations

have often established for themselves, that of not suffering a second candidate to be proposed till the pretensions of any minister which were before them were disposed of, has tended much to obviate inconveniences to which this mode of supplying vacancies might give rise.

Mr. Heywood states the sources of his own ministerial income thus : (1.) the regular contributions of his congregation, which were made quarterly, the sum raised being about five pounds each quarter ; (2.) occasional gifts, as for funeral sermons, baptisms, private services, and the like ; (3.) allowances from persons not belonging to the congregation, but who saw the value of the minister's labours, and were willing to encourage him in the continuance of them. Lord Wharton and Lady Hewley were the principal persons who in this manner contributed to Mr. Heywood's support. And these long continued to be the sources of income to the Presbyterian ministers. Under the first head, however, the free gifts were sometimes changed into assessments on the persons who attended, which the rustics of Lancashire in their homely phrase were wont to call " chapel wages ;" and this again in most places gave way to pew-rents, when the right of private families to pews constructed by themselves at the first erection of the chapel had become uncertain and obsolete. The practice of Lady Hewley and other persons of her period, to make annual contributions to the Presbyterian ministers who needed such encouragement, did not long continue, but its place was supplied by public funds established for this especial purpose. Lady Hewley herself made ample provision for the continuance after her death of those contributions which she had been accustomed to make in her lifetime to various ministers, and to extend them when required to others, giving a large estate for this and similar purposes. This benefaction was for the especial benefit of the ministers of the county of York, next of those in the four northern counties, not wholly excluding those in other parts of the kingdom. The Presbyterian fund, the seat and

management of which was in London, was another foundation of the same nature; but in this case it was not created by a private benefactor, but was a joint effort of numerous persons, chiefly opulent merchants of London, members of the body. The northern counties were excluded from the benefit of this fund when Lady Hewley's benefaction came into operation.

But as time passed on there arose two other sources of income to the ministers:—first, in the form of a house and garden for his residence; and next, by accumulations in the hands of the trustees of moneys given or bequeathed to them for the benefit of the minister. But the income derived from all these sources proved itself, in many cases, very inadequate to the purpose of providing anything approaching to a decent maintenance to a man of some cultivation and refinement, especially when the Puritan excitement had subsided, and the persecution having ceased, he was no longer an object of sympathy, as having taken joyfully the spoiling of his goods, and submitted himself to bonds and imprisonments in a common cause; and still more when the field of his labours was narrowed by the reduction which soon took place of the number of his congregation. The effect of this was, that the ministers in many places were in a manner compelled to resort to the keeping of schools as a means of better subsistence, while in smaller places, where there was little chance of establishing a school, the encouragement became so small that it was difficult to find any minister, and the chapels became closed. It seems as if advantage must be taken of the benefactions of the ancient friends of religion, or that there must be some assistance rendered by the state, if a cultivated, an enlightened, a learned, and an inquiring ministry is to be kept up, except in the midst of a large population.

Next to Lady Hewley, the best benefactors to the Dissenters in the county of York have been the family of Hollis, which removed in the time of the Common-

wealth from the neighbourhood of Sheffield and Rotherham to London, where they acquired considerable wealth by dealing in the articles manufactured in those parts of the kingdom. The ministers at Sheffield, Rotherham, and Doncaster are endowed by them; but, like Lady Hewley, they did more, establishing an hospital at Sheffield, as she did at York, for poor Dissenters; thus making up to them in ample measure for any loss which they might sustain in consequence of having withdrawn themselves from the Church, with whom the administration of the ancient eleemosynary gifts of the country for the most part rested. They also founded schools at Sheffield and Rotherham, in the vain hope that they would prove seed-plots of the congregations there.

Lady Hewley made some provision in her munificent benefaction for the widows and families of poor ministers, and for other necessitous persons; and similar good works were performed by the founders of Presbyterian Dissent in other parts of the kingdom. None, however, were of equal munificence with hers, except that of Dr. Daniel Williams, himself a Presbyterian minister, who not only endowed chapels and schools, but founded scholarships for young ministers in the University of Glasgow, and established an excellent library for the perpetual use of the Dissenting ministers in the city of London.

Most of the original Non-Conforming ministers, whether classing themselves as Presbyterians or Independents, had been educated in the Universities, and they themselves introduced none into the ministry but persons who had something more than what may be called a competent share of learning. We have seen the bitter terms in which Mr. Heywood complains of the intrusion into the ministerial office of persons not possessed of those attainments which he deemed requisite for the proper discharge of its duties, and for keeping up the respectability and influence which, if it is to do any good at all, must belong to it. But without taking

advantage of the ancient benefactions for the education of ministers, to provide suitable education for them is no easy matter. There were, however, in the infancy of Dissent, various institutions established in different parts of the kingdom for the express purpose of training in academical learning those who were to succeed to the ejected ministers. Some of the ministers of the second race resorted to the Foreign Universities, and some, as was the case with Mr. Heywood's sons, finished their studies in the Scotch Universities. But the substantial work of this kind was done at home. In the North we have seen that Frankland established an academy in or about 1670, from whence many ministers issued who received ordination at the hands of Mr. Heywood and his contemporaries. Before Mr. Frankland's death Mr. Jollie had established another at Attercliffe. Some of Mr. Frankland's pupils finished their studies under Mr. Chorlton, the successor of Mr. Newcome at Manchester, and others wholly studied under him and his colleague, Mr. Cunningham. This academy acquired what may be called a public character, by a resolution of the Lancashire ministers at one of their meetings, that they gave it their countenance and meant to support it; but it seems to have had no very long continuance. Mr. Jollie's was continued after his decease by his successor in the chapel at Sheffield, Mr. Wadsworth. In the northern counties, Dr. Dickson had a similar institution under his care, to which succeeded Mr. Rotheram's, at Kendal. But in the middle of the last century many of the congregations in Yorkshire were supplied with ministers from an academy established in the south of Derbyshire by Mr. Hill, and continued by Dr. Ebenezer Latham: and it is not to be supposed that the congregations were supplied solely by ministers trained in the academies which were in their own neighbourhood, there having been always interchanges of ministers through the whole kingdom, only it does not appear that for more than a century any persons were recognized

as ministers in the Presbyterian denomination who had not studied in some institution of the kind.

To continue the account of the northern academies :— In 1757, the Presbyterians of the North, but especially those of Lancashire, always forward when good in this way is to be done, established the academy at Warrington, for which they obtained the assistance of Dr. John Taylor, one of the most learned and eminent of the Presbyterian divines. This institution had the benefit of the labours of other persons whose names are prominent in the history of Presbyterian Non-Conformity—Priestley, Aikin, Enfield, and others. It differed from the older academies in its being less especially intended for the education of ministers. That was one of the objects, but there were always far more lay students than divines. It had a valuable library, containing some rare volumes collected by Roger Morice, a friend of Strype's, with many which have a higher claim to be called valuable than simple rarity. This academy has continued to the present day, though not on its original site. It was removed to Manchester, from thence to York, and it has lately been removed again to Manchester.

Institutions of the same nature have been established in London, in Northamptonshire, at Gloucester, at Taunton, at Exeter, and at Hackney, as well as other places, by persons of the old Dissent, amongst whom arose a principal benefactor in this department in Mr. Coward, a London merchant. Lady Hewley, in her benefaction, included the foundation of six scholarships for the Dissenting ministry. In these academies the course of study pursued in the Universities has been reflected, with the additional circumstance, that far greater attention has been paid to theological and biblical study, and the preparation of persons expressly for the ministry. The time usually passed in these academies has been five years; and though nothing can supply the want of those stimulants to high exertion which are found only on the sites where the shades of

the most eminent of our countrymen in times gone by are still wandering, it will not be denied that the Dissenting academies produced some of the most eminent of the English theological scholars of the former half of the last century. The second and third race of the Presbyterian ministry of England is a body of men to whom justice has not yet been done by the pen of any writer. They were worthy to be held in much honour; men who had dropped what was repulsive in the old Puritan character, but retaining some of its best characteristics—pious, humble, and benevolent, seekers of truth and lovers of virtue, friends of peace and freedom; while among them shine a few names eminently distinguished by those higher and rarer qualities which command the admiration of those who have little to bestow on men whose best praise it is, that they walk with God in the paths of unostentatious usefulness.

All the men of whom I have spoken passed into the ministry through the gate of ordination. Nothing shows what in this respect was the practice of the Presbyterian ministers of the first and second race of Dissent so well as the detailed accounts which Mr. Heywood has left of the services of this kind in which he was personally engaged, and therefore it is that I have been so full in the extracts which I have made from them. It is clear that, in the mind of Mr. Heywood and the founders of Presbyterian Dissent, it was not that ordination kept out of the ministry some who ought not to think of entering it; that it gave a minister a distinctive and substantive character; that it provided for the maintenance of that equality which it is desirable should exist among such a body of persons; that it produced a sense of duty both to continue through life in the ministry and to be zealous in the performance of its duties; that it was a certain kind of defence of the minister while he was faithful in the discharge of his duties; and that it had the effect of regulating the number of persons who should compose the ministry, partake in the benefit of its endow-

ments, and preside in the congregations ; but that there was also supposed to be some kind of spiritual grace devolved upon the candidate from those who were his predecessors in the ministry. This appears by the imposition of hands having been invariably a part of the service, just as much so as in an Episcopal Church the imposition of the hands of the bishop is believed to transmit a similar grace. What that grace is specifically, is a question not easily answered ; but then it may be asked what that grace was which was conferred by the imposition of the hands of the apostles, and other eminent Christians in the early and authoritative times of Christianity. Whatever that was, the founders of Presbyterian Dissent conceived of themselves as transmitting, and not as being engaged in a mere formal ceremony. Great change in this respect has taken place ; just as great change has taken place in the sentiments of the descendants of the old Presbyterians concerning Baptism and the Lord's Supper, which have lost, like ordination, their peculiar original distinctive, and perhaps important character. The word superstition, always ready—and which will, if not watched, destroy Christianity and religion itself—has been the chief cause of these great changes in opinion.

As the individual members of the Presbyterian congregations were held together by the slightest possible bonds, so the several congregations were combined together from the beginning by bonds as slight. The only institution which had the effect of keeping them together and engaging them to regard each other as parts of a whole and to act in concert, was the Meetings of Ministers. Anything approaching to Presbyterian union and discipline is not to be found. Nothing of the kind was contemplated when first the Presbyterians appeared as Dissenters. Indeed Presbyterianism, in its proper sense, could be only national. They would gladly have had a National Presbyterian Church, but, frustrated in that object, they never attempted to establish a Presbyterian church

of their own within the National Episcopal Church. They were, as I said before, but a body of persons disconnected, and each separate portion of it moving very much at their own pleasure, and not a church in any sense of the term. But at the meetings of ministers, which bore some resemblance to the Provincial Assemblies of the Presbyterian system, there was at the beginning, and it has continued more or less where they have continued to be held, deliberation on matters touching the common interest. Petitions to Parliament, for instance, have been agreed upon at them; resolutions have been passed to support some particular candidate at a succeeding election; disputes between congregations and ministers have sometimes been brought before them; votes of censure have been passed; the fitness of particular ministers and of particular doctrines has sometimes been brought under notice; and the pretensions of candidates for ordination have been canvassed. I collect this from accounts of the meetings of this kind held by the ministers in the two counties of Lancashire and Cheshire; but it was in both cases early in the history of Presbyterian dissent; and in later times, that is, during the century passed before the present day, it would be found that these meetings have been little more than social and friendly, accompanied by a public religious service.

In the scheme for a National Presbyterian Church, which was described in an early chapter of this work, the Provincial Assemblies were to send deputies to a grand National Assembly. But no national union of this kind was ever formed by the Presbyterian Dissenters. In one memorable instance reference was made from Devonshire to the ministers in and about London to know what they would advise in a case of great difficulty and great importance; and the ministers in and about London did meet in a kind of convocation, or synod, to deliberate on the answer to be returned. But this is the single instance of the kind, and must not be taken as

anything like a Presbyterian power directing the affairs of the general body of Presbyterians, or, since both Independent and Baptist ministers sat on this occasion with the Presbyterian ministers, as if it were any body which had the right of regulating the affairs of Non-Conformity at large. No doubt the opinion and the example of the London ministers have a certain influence on the whole, and a certain kind of respect is paid to them; but they never stood in the position of the National Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, or were possessed of the slightest constitutional authority. There is not, nor ever was, any general controlling power recognised through the realms of Dissent.

When the affairs of northern Non-Conformity were brought before those learned persons who have been lately appealed to respecting the administration of the fund of Lady Hewley, nothing was more surprising to them than that there could have been a religious community in England enduring for a century and a half, and possessed of no small amount of real and personal property, without any kind of bond or corporate character, and without any visible sign in the case of each individual member of fellowship with the body; and still more, that, though associated for religious purposes, as far as there was association, there was no code of laws existing among them, no prescribed form of prayer and administration of the sacraments, no common creed, and no ostensible articles of belief. And undoubtedly, to persons brought up in a church, this must necessarily appear a strange anomaly, and such a state of things as little fitted either for promoting spiritual edification, the permanent success of the party, or for eschewing perpetual dissension. Even to those brought up in the midst of the system and accustomed to the practical working of it, such a state of things would appear very unpromising of any useful result when first it was set distinctly before them, had not experience shown that the contrary is the fact, and were it not known to them

that the Presbyterian body is not, nor ever was, a church, but only a community of persons freed from the shackles which an establishment imposes, and seeking truth and the freedom of profession and worship. This singular state of things, however, requires a little further explanation.

We have the fact of numerous Presbyterian dissenting societies existing without any common bond of union but the mere will (if such be) of the persons for the time composing them, and without any code of laws, any articles of belief, any recognised creed; and if we go back through the whole period of their existence, we shall find things just the same, till we arrive at the time of the Act of Toleration, which first gave them a legalized existence. So far we have matter of plain fact. And we find them also in the whole of that period perpetually shifting their position, founding their dissent at one time principally on one point, at another on another point, and making frequent changes also in their opinions respecting the ordinances of Christianity, and the doctrines which constitute the revelation by Jesus Christ. We find them, however, uniformly asserting the sole supremacy of Christ in his Church, the sufficiency of Scripture for instructing us in the whole will of God, the paramount duty of searching the Scriptures to know what is taught therein, the right of private judgment in determining what the teaching is, the duty of professing the truth which is discovered, and the persuasion that a man's religion is something between God and his own conscience, with which no other party—be it the state, be it a national church, or be it an individual or small community—has any right to interfere. I am not here undertaking to defend these principles, but only stating them historically as being now, and having for a long period been, principles on which the Presbyterian Dissenters have acted. I am not insensible how fearful a privilege the right of private judgment is when it is applied to truth of such extremely difficult attainment as

the truth of perpetual obligation, couched in the often obscure language of our Lord and the scarcely less difficult writings of the Apostles. If it is a 'precious birth-right,'

"The jewel of our house,
Deliver'd down from many ancestors,"

it is a right which brings with it many duties, and which the wise man will exercise with sobriety, humility, and devotion.

At the same time it is in reality nothing more than a principle which the Puritans acknowledged and acted on from the beginning; only in their case this freedom of inquiry was applied to things of little moment, gesture, ceremonies, and vestments, or at most the true scriptural idea of a Christian church. It may almost be said to be the principle of the Reformation itself, when men, by the exercise of private judgment, discovered the spiritual tyranny under which they supposed themselves to lie, and by the application of that judgment to the language of Scripture, the aggregation of what they deemed mistaken doctrine in the opinions of the time, and the absence of what they deemed of importance in Christianity as then professed. Nor, however many must necessarily be led by such a principle into error, can it fairly be denied that it is the true and perhaps the only way by which errors can be detected and men can attain to the knowledge of the truth; and that, practically, the discovery of truth has in some instances been the actual result of the exercise of it.

No doubt such men as Mr. Heywood, though they found themselves in the position which they occupied by the assertion of this principle by themselves and their fathers, looked with some degree of alarm when they found such men as Mr. Smith applying it to other portions of Scripture, and deducing from them opinions differing from those in which they had themselves been educated, just as in all subsequent periods alarm has been felt by the ministers who were approaching the

close of life at the bold positions which they saw the younger ministers take by the application of this right to the study of the Scriptures ; yet it would have been hard for them at the time when Non-Conformity was first being matured into something of a system to have shut up inquiry, which would in effect have been done, had they resolved themselves into a church, and established certain creeds and articles to be universally received. Why do you dissent? would have been a very pertinent question in any young minister who felt his mind loosening from the principles in which he had in his childhood been trained, to any older minister who looked upon the course which he was taking with alarm ; and the answer which must have been given would have justified the inquirer, as long at least as the inquirer was under the guidance of Scripture.

And as at the time when first Non-Conforming worship was legalized, and the Presbyterian body acquired their toleration, there were many young ministers who were beginning to question the doctrines which are taught in the Assembly's Catechism and other Calvinian formulas, some whose minds were loosening from the doctrines which are considered as more peculiarly doctrines of the Reformation, and some who were pushing their inquiries very far and approaching to Arian, and a few even to Socinian, notions, it would have been extremely difficult to have brought such a body to any kind of agreement respecting doctrine, and to have persuaded all to have subscribed to any creed or articles, rather than generally to the Scriptures, leaving what the Scriptures really taught matter of inquiry. Such an attempt would in all probability have gone far to prevent the formation of a powerful Dissenting interest at all, and especially since at that time men seem to have been particularly awake to theological controversies, and a general uneasiness to have been abroad respecting the doctrines of the Reformers, especially those of Calvin, which had had the greatest influence in England. Controversies had

been maintained respecting them in the early times of Puritanism, and it is remarkable that those Dissenters who are now the farthest removed from Calvinian opinions are obliged to acknowledge that the stand made against them in the most dangerous times was made by Laud and the persons who thought and acted with him, who are, on other accounts, objects of hereditary dislike ; and that after the Restoration the statesmen and churchmen, with whom originated the severe measures against the ejected ministry which we have described, were nearly all men who had no love for Calvinism in any form, but were the Arminians of the day, with the leaning forward to Arianism and Socinianism ; so that the modern Presbyterian Dissenter is in the singular position of being compelled to acknowledge them as being rather in the possession of the truth than their own forefathers, who were so severely persecuted by them ; and, further, that the beginnings of Christian liberality of sentiment in England are to be traced to members of the Church, whose articles have never been found to restrain practically the application of the powers of the mind to the discovery of truth. Amongst those ministers of the Church who had succeeded to Chillingworth and Hales, the spirit of free inquiry prevailed to a great extent. It had in them the form and name of Latitudinarianism—an objectionable word, but expressing really nothing more than the Presbyterian principle of free inquiry and open profession. There had also grown up in the Church of England a body of divines who were public preachers, such men as Barrow, South, and Tillotson*, who had introduced what Mr. Heywood

* Tillotson was born in the strictest sect of Non-Conformity, his father having been, as we have seen, a member of Mr. Root's Independent church at Sowerby. There is a traditionary anecdote current at Halifax, that when he preached there after he had attained considerable reputation as a preacher, his father, when all was over, said that his son had preached well, but he believed he had done more harm than good. This was about 1680.

calls *the new mode of preaching*, which was really the substitution of manly and vigorous sense for the wire-drawn discourses of the Puritan ministry, and a milder and juster system of Christian doctrine, instead of the appalling assertions of Calvinism. Whether the writings of the Socinians influenced at that time men's opinions to any great extent may be questioned; but it is quite clear that the writings and the preaching of the divines of the English Church of whom I speak did influence the members of that Church to a great extent, and laid the foundation of that state of things which in these days is often described as the loss of its religion, and that their influence extended itself not less widely among the younger portion of those, both ministers and laymen, who had left her communion.

Again, the free writings of Le Clerc and of some other foreign divines had also at that period considerable influence on the state of religious opinion in England; and amongst our own writers there was Locke, especially, who not only taught a juster philosophy and the wisdom of toleration, but also opened the way to the right reading of the Apostolic Epistles—a fatal blow to Calvinian interpretations.

Nor was it long before the Arian writers made their appearance openly, justifying the opinions publicly which they had for some time privately held. Clarke's 'Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity' was first published in 1708.

In this unsettled state of the public mind, no new religious community, containing within itself men to whom theological study was a professional duty, and who descended of persons whose boast it had been that they had searched the Scriptures, and brought their whole mind to bear on the inquiry, what was taught there, could have set up restrictive articles of belief, or was likely to attempt to do so. And this appears to be the only explanation which the case requires to make the fact, that there were no articles of religious belief settled by the Presbyterian Dissenters when their foun-

dations were first laid, reconcilable to the feeling and judgment of a legal or any other mind.

But this is only attempting to assign a reason for that which, however strange it may appear, we know historically to have been the course they took.

And as an historical evidence that they did so, I would refer to the case of Dr. Calamy, who is as pure and unexceptionable a representative of the Presbyterian ministry as could be selected from among the ministers of the generation succeeding that of Mr. Heywood. Dr. Calamy was educated abroad ; and when he returned to England in 1687, and was debating with himself whether he should enter the ministry in the Church or among the Dissenters, he decided on taking the latter course, because he found amongst the Dissenters that freedom from articles and creeds which he deemed essential to the carrying out what he regarded as the true Protestant principle, that the Bible was the religion of Protestants, and that it was the privilege and duty of a person like him to search it in an unbiassed spirit and with an unfettered mind. We have the course of his reasoning on this subject fully set forth by himself in his printed auto-biography.

But, says an authority of which I would be understood to speak with no other feeling than that of profound respect, the Act of Toleration required of all who took the benefit of it that they should subscribe the doctrinal articles of the Church ; and it was argued by that authority, that Dr. Colton, Lady Hewley's pastor, friend and executor, must have subscribed them under the Act, as he took the benefit of it. Whether Dr. Colton did qualify under the Act is not known, at least I have heard of no evidence either way ; but the inference that he did subscribe because the Act required him to do so, is drawn without, I may venture to say, sufficient consideration of the state of the Dissenting mind respecting the obligations created by Acts of Parliament when they touch affairs of religion.

Whether, I say, Dr. Colton subscribed or no, is not in evidence; but the same reasoning might have been used to show that his friend Dr. Calamy, who entered the same ministry at the same time, had subscribed. And yet we have Dr. Calamy's own assurance, oblique, indeed, but confirmed by other contemporary evidence, that he never did subscribe, refusing to do so on principle, and that he continued through life in the exercise of his ministry, as other ministers in his time did and as many did afterwards, under the protection of the Toleration Act, without having the qualifications which the Act required. ✕

tarain
land
evia
unt
as a
ay.

A great fallacy running through much of the proceedings to which I have alluded, was the supposing that there can be no kind of common feeling in a body of Christian professors except on the basis of community in points of faith. The real community in this instance lay in the desire of promoting practical religion, not peculiar forms of Christian belief, unless the opposition to forced community of belief may be regarded as in part also a common bond.

Even in the times before the Act of Toleration there was no small difference in the doctrinal opinions of the Presbyterian body. Some adhered to the revolting doctrines of the Assembly's Catechism. Some held the milder Calvinism of Baxter and Henry. At York, the Catechism, still more moderate, of Mr. Bowles was the received formula of religious instruction. We find little of what can be called high orthodoxy in the published writings of Mr. Heywood himself.

That such a body of men as I have now described, called into existence by the feelings, the principles, and the labours of Mr. Heywood and those who acted with him, and, when appearing as a body of separatists, having no firm union, no laws, and no avowed common principles of a character to bind them together, and whose common principle of free inquiry naturally tended not to union, but to disunion, inasmuch as it could not be

expected that the free inquiry of one man could lead to the same conclusions as the free inquiry of another, can ever have flourished as a sect or religious community, will not be supposed by any one who looks fairly upon the subject, and considers what it is that induces men to withdraw from the communion which is proposed to them by the common consent of the nation, and keeps them together. As long as the recollection remained of the evils which the Presbyterian families had suffered under the severe policy of King Charles the Second, and they could speak of this member of it being harassed at the Quarter Sessions, another fined, another sent to prison, and all because they were of a more devout deportment and a more religious spirit than their persecutors, there was feeling which bound them to the system and held them to the ministers who had stood foremost in the day of suffering. Even now, at the distance of nearly two centuries, that feeling has not entirely passed away, but it necessarily became weaker and weaker as they receded from the persons who had been the actual sufferers. Nor was the energy of such men as Mr. Heywood to be expected in a succession of persons in peaceable times, for persecution wonderfully quickens zeal, and a minister who takes from choice a particular position, or is forced into it by circumstances, is a very different character from one who has from his youth been trained to the ministerial profession: nor are the eminent abilities which Mr. Heywood possessed, and which were exactly adapted to his singular position, to be found in many or a succession of persons; and yet something like them, at least, is wanted, if a Dissenting congregation is to be sustained in a state of prosperity. Even Mr. Heywood's own sons, worthy men as they appear to have been, had nothing of the ability and success of their father; nor among the Yorkshire ministers who succeeded him does there appear to have been any one who can be compared with him for energy and success. Yet the permanence and success of Dissent

depended very much on the continuance of a ministry more energetic, more exciting, more enthusiastic, than that of the Church; for in the many it must have been at first a craving for this religious excitement which was one principal inducement to them to join themselves to the Non-Conforming ministry, and when this craving was no longer gratified such would necessarily fall away.

Of real manly principle there was little till the principle of free inquiry and the profession of the results, expressed by them in various phrase but substantially the same, was extended by them to the weightier matters of Christianity, after it had been confined by their Puritan fathers to the mere mint, anise and cummin of Revelation. That is indeed a manly principle which declares that the field is open, the Scriptures are before us, and we must learn from them what it is they teach, regardless of tradition, councils, fathers, and the ancient monuments of Christian faith not sanctified as the Scriptures are sanctified. And it is still bolder and more manly, when it takes the ground of declaring that truth shall be the sole thing aimed at, independently of an acknowledgment of the prescription of Scripture as containing truth revealed, and therefore unquestionable. But this is a principle for the scholar and philosopher only; and it is one of the most natural steps for the humble and uneducated Christian to take, to decide that such a principle is too bold for him, and that he, for his part, does not resort to the places of public worship to hear doctrines canvassed, or even difficulties removed, and the unbeliever refuted, but to hear the truths of Christianity preached, if not dogmatically, yet on some unvarying system which he has been led, rightly or wrongly, to regard as the truth. Those of the multitude of a pious and devout turn of mind do not look upon religion as a something which is to be the perpetual subject of investigation and canvass, but which is to direct their steps in the dangerous path of life and to sustain their spirits in the day of adversity.

Even to the ministers and the more cultivated portions of the Dissenting communities, there is hazard in the admission of the principle, and still more if it be fully carried out, which it rarely is. To inquire, implies that the common means of inquiry shall be used ; but among the first of those means surely it is to find out the difficulties which press against a set of opinions which have been received ; and yet this perpetual searching for difficulties and summoning up of sceptical thoughts is but a bad preparation for the public duties of a minister, or for the calm and steady influence of religion.

The results of the free inquiry, which the early Presbyterian ministers regarded as their right and peculiar privilege, was the departure of nearly the whole Presbyterian body from the doctrines which had formed the belief of the ministers who had been ejected, and from whom they derived their orders. In this they but went at first with a large body of ministers in the Church. Arianism appeared in the Church before it was manifested, to any extent at least, in the Presbyterian body. Many of the young ministers fell into those opinions early in the century ; some of an earlier standing adopted and defended them ; warm disputes arose ; but when, even as early as 1719, there was a question, which involved the propriety of putting a stop to the progress of them in the Presbyterian ministry as inconsistent with the maintenance of orthodoxy, proposed to the London ministers, there was a plain proof exhibited that the spirit of free inquiry had loosened the minds of many of them from any strength of adherence to orthodox principles. In fine, before the middle of the century, Calvinism in its higher forms, and even in its modifications, had nearly disappeared from the Presbyterian congregations, and the view of the Christian doctrine taken by the ministers may be best represented by the term Arian, though varying in its forms as the ideas represented by that term vary, but concurring in placing the Son in a position decidedly inferior to the Father. During that

period, also, the doctrines which are sometimes represented as being those peculiarly of the Reformation, such as the doctrine of grace, the fall, the state of man in consequence, original sin, the redemption, were boldly questioned, first attenuated, and then abandoned.

There was even in this early period a leaning forward to Socinianism itself. Dr. Lardner, who belongs to this period, was an advocate of the Socinian view of the person of Christ. So appears to have been his friend the first Lord Barrington, who was of Puritan descent and a kind of leader of the liberal party in Dissent, as he was also a principal adviser in all the transactions of the Dissenters with the statesmen of the time.

These changes did not introduce a system that was more acceptable to the great body of those among the people who were of a devout and religious turn of mind, and who clung to the Non-Conforming ministers because in their ministrations they found more to gratify the taste for devotional excitement than in the chastened and uniform services of the Church.

But these changes led to others. It has been found that the profession of Arian opinions has often been the prelude to the profession of Socinian opinions; and the experience of what has happened in the old Dissenting congregations would seem to show that Arianism is no resting-place for men who have loosened themselves from orthodoxy. In the second half of the last century the ministers were generally, I might almost say universally, verging to Socinianism. The Arian ministers said little of the distinctive characteristics of their system as against the rising body of young Socinians. They preached moral truths only. They delighted to dwell on such texts as these:—"Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my latter end be like his"—"What is required of thee, O man, but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"—"Fear God and keep his commandments, for this is the whole duty of man"—"Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father

is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world"—and to speak of their Christianity as being exhibited in the Sermon on the Mount, the speech of St. Paul at Athens, and the fine summary of Christian truth contained in a few verses of his Epistle to Titus. Neither in their public instructions nor in the private education of their children did they comprehend much more than this. Was not this enough? especially when it may be added, that men of purer lives have rarely been found to do honour to the name of Christian. But it will easily be perceived how this made way for the introduction and prevalence of Socinian opinions in the Presbyterian congregations.

There had been manifestations of them in individual cases before, but about the year 1770 they began to be more openly acknowledged. In the history of the rise and progress of modern Socinianism, the county of York takes a conspicuous place. It was from Catterick, a living in that county, that Mr. Lindsey retired, when, after a vain attempt to induce the legislature to consent to such a modification of the Act of Uniformity as would be satisfactory to persons holding those opinions, he withdrew from his station as a minister in the Church; and it was among the Presbyterian ministers of that county that he found that encouragement which is so necessary for the satisfaction of minds like that of Mr. Lindsey, sincere, humble, and devout, which arises from the knowledge that other persons have arrived at the same conclusions by the same line of inquiry. From nearly all the Presbyterian ministers of that county he received some kind of encouragement; but three of them, who were indeed at that time among the most prominent and the most learned of the body at large, were his particular and especial friends, with whom he had frequent converse. These were Mr. Cappe, who had succeeded to Mr. Hotham, one of Lady Hewley's two pastors in the chapel at York, Mr. Turner, who was the minister at

Wakefield, and Dr. Joseph Priestley, who was then the pastor of the Mill-hill congregation at Leeds. There was also Mr. Graham, who had been the minister of one of the rural congregations in the parish of Halifax. As they encouraged Mr. Lindsey in the course he took, so were they emboldened by his example to profess more openly than before the unpopular system of Christian truth of which Mr. Lindsey was the great and able advocate.

Then it was that their own position as persons who, by the terms of the Act of Toleration, were required to subscribe the doctrinal articles of the Church of England, became felt by them as, to a certain degree, inconsistent with Christian sincerity. It was true that few of them had thought it necessary to qualify, but there was the presumption that they had qualified. On an application to the legislature, what was denied to the ministers of the Church was ultimately allowed to them; and this change was made in the Act of Toleration, that a general declaration of belief in Christianity was substituted for the subscription to the articles.

The name of Dr. Priestley will always be eminent both in the history of natural philosophy and the history of the reformed religion in England. He was a native of Yorkshire, his family being members of the old Independent congregation of Heckmonwyke, and in the course which he took we may discern something of the rough and bold spirit of the Independent as distinguished from the Presbyterian, and something of their ancient want of condescension to the elegances and refinements of life, though it was with the latter body that in his public life he connected himself. No single person had ever so great an influence on the Presbyterian body as he; not only in modifying their opinions respecting the person of Christ, but in other points of religious opinion in which something of ancient orthodoxy still lingered in the minds of the elder ministers of his time.

In all these successive changes it is not to be supposed

that whole congregations would move together, or that there would not be some who might think that there was a want of a steady and solid ground of religious opinion, for which the freedom of change, and of professing the change, was but an indifferent compensation. Even at the beginning there were some who from their original position might be expected to have remained with the Non-Conformists who did not do so, of whom the sons of Mr. Newcome of Manchester, who both conformed as ministers to the Church, are among the most remarkable instances. But the great weakening of Dissent by the defection of its ministers took place a little later, I mean in the first twenty years of the last century, when the freedom of inquiry had produced differences of opinion, and differences of opinion dissension and virulence. Then it was that several of the young ministers took refuge in the Church, two of whom are particularly memorable on account both of their eminence as theological scholars, and of the exalted dignities to which they attained,—Butler, who became the bishop of Durham, and Secker, the primate of all England*. Another,

* Secker was brought up at Chesterfield, where lived a sister much older than himself, the wife of Mr. Milnes. He was sent to Mr. Jollie's academy, and afterwards to Mr. Jones's at Tewkesbury. Many memorials of his early years and early connexion with Non-Conformity exist, and they show not only this connexion, but also that he was distinguished by great kindness of disposition, an innocent cheerfulness, and engaging manners. Persons who disliked him were accustomed to allude to his having preached as a candidate to the congregation of Dissenters at the little town of Bolsover, and that they declined to invite him. There is some truth in the story, though the circumstances cannot be now satisfactorily recovered; but it does not appear that this could have much to do with his conforming, which did not take place till some years afterwards. But it was an inference which we cannot blame him for drawing, if he thought that he was out of his proper position when such a community as the Bolsover people would not accept of the services of one whose education had been directed to the qualifying him to undertake such a trust, and who could not be insensible that he had left the academy rich in the possession of theological knowledge, that he had talents of no common order, and beside was in life irreprouchable. A cool recep-

a little earlier, became an archbishop in Ireland ; another went to the law, and became the Irish chancellor ; and the Church of England reckons other ministers who were among the most respectable of her pastors, who entered life from the discipline of the Dissenting academies. I do not mean to defend or to accuse these persons ; the motive in each case may well be supposed to be mixed, something of the terrene united with the pure desire of knowing and doing what was right ; but to state the fact, that there occurred at this period, that is, the first twenty years of the last century, a great withdrawing of its intellectual power from the Non-Conforming body.

In each transition of opinion, when the time came that change was marked and observable, there was more or less of the withdrawing of private persons from the congregations. This usually occurred at the time when a minister was to be chosen ; for while one and the same minister continued to officiate, though there might be a change going on in his mind, the change was often so gradual as to be hardly perceptible, and the attachment to an old friend and pastor, which held them together as long as he lived, naturally ceased when a new pastor was introduced. They were minorities who withdrew.

What I have described as having been the declension of opinion in the Presbyterian congregations, was the case in most of those of the West Riding, and in nearly all of those of the county of Lancaster. It was the case also in nearly all the larger cities and towns, and in many of the smaller towns. But there were still some, especially in the rural districts, who adhered to their former orthodoxy : so that about the middle of the century there was a kind of new division in the Dissenting body founded upon diversity of judgment in respect of doctrine, and the term Rational Dissenter arose to designate those who had departed from orthodoxy, in con-

tion from such a body as the Dissenters of Bolsover would naturally lead him to inquire whether Dissent really tended to the interests of truth and rational piety.

tradistinction to those who were designated Orthodox Dissenters. These were for the most part Presbyterians. The Independents had adhered more closely to their original opinions. Such congregations of Presbyterian origin as adhered to their original orthodoxy attached themselves at this period to the Independents.

The change which I have described was by no means confined to the Dissenters. The Church partook largely in the defection from the doctrines called those of the Reformation, so that the eighteenth century is often spoken of as a period of great spiritual darkness, which means, that many had begun to perceive that there was a want of true scriptural support to the doctrines which had been taught as the truths of Christianity, whether those of the Augsburg Confession, or those which had been so extensively disseminated among the reformed both of Scotland, England, and France, elaborated by the mind of the great Genevan divine. This state of things, however, was not looked upon with indifference by a few persons, though none arose boldly to stem the receding wave of opinion on a great scale, till the two clergymen, Whitefield and Wesley, undertook to call men back to "Old Church of England principles," as Wesley himself describes the purpose of his mission. They had different views of what constituted the Christian doctrine, but they had a common purpose in calling men back from the Arianism which they professed, and that indifference to doctrine as compared with the performance of the moral and religious duties of life, to the importance of what each regarded as the distinctive truths of Christianity. At the same time they had the further object in common,—the introducing a greater strictness of life, more religious habits of thinking and acting, and beside the grand features of the respective system of each, many details of opinion and religious practice. Each contended that his was the doctrine of the Gospel, and his the doctrine of the Reformation. Both could not be so; and who shall decide, unless men are thrown again on their

private judgment, and by free, calm, and unbiassed inquiry endeavour to ascertain what is the truth? How hard is it either fully to admit, or to repudiate the duty and the right! Both, however, were eminently successful. Men saw in them the zeal and energy of the old Puritan revived, and all his strictness of life. Wesley indeed may be called a Puritan, for he was eminently one by descent, and it is clear that there was much in his character which he had inherited from his Puritan ancestors*. They wrought together such a change in the religious character of the country, as it has never fallen to the lot of any other persons to accomplish. Both became the founders of great and powerful sects. Men wrought upon by their ministry combined in congregations and built chapels; and they, especially those who acknowledged Wesley as the means of their conversion, placed themselves entirely under his guidance, incorporating themselves in what is properly styled the Methodist Church. This work may be said to have begun in earnest about the year 1739.

The effect of the labours of these men and of other persons, some of whom were ministers of the Church and settled in particular parishes, who thought and acted with them, is not to be estimated by the mere fact, important though it be, that they established two great communities, each held together by the strength of legal bands, for they called into existence another body of persons who separated themselves from the Church without uniting themselves to either of the new communities. Some of these professed adult baptism in addition to the common principles of Methodism; but most of them formed themselves into congregations pro-

* Wesley's father was one of the conforming Dissenting ministers of the reign of King William. He had been educated in one of the Dissenting academies. His father and grandfather were ejected ministers. Wesley's mother was a daughter of Dr. Samuel Annesley, another ejected minister, whose congregation in London would, as we have seen, have had Mr. Heywood to have succeeded him.

fessing those common principles, varying from the more moderate doctrines of Wesley to the high Calvinism of Whitefield. These congregations took the name of Independent, resembling in some respects the Independent congregations of the Old Dissent. In the West Riding of Yorkshire, and indeed in every part of the kingdom, congregations of this kind arose.

There was thus presented to the people the choice of two forms of Dissent,—the Old Dissent, which had become for the most part rational, as the phrase was, and the New Dissent, in which the ancient doctrines were made prominent, and in which they were preached with that energy which, in men like Mr. Heywood, a century before had won the hearts of many, and engaged them, even under the disadvantages of persecution, to withdraw from the Church and to form separate communities. It is but in the natural course of things, that those who loved devotional excitement and orthodox Christianity should flock to the New Dissent, while those whose aim was the discovery of truth and the profession of it, should still seek the less crowded gates of the Old Dissent; especially when it is considered that the craving for extemporaneous devotional addresses was satisfied in the chapels of the New Dissent, or in those of the Methodist church.

Again the Church itself felt the effects, and not a few ministers in it resorted to the mode of preaching which they saw so successful in Methodism; so that in reality in many places the tables were reversed, and where men had gone to Dissent because the services were more spiritual, or at least more exciting than those of the Church, so men now went to the Church because they found there a more exciting ministry than in the chapels of Dissent.

All this had a very great influence on the state of the Old Dissent. It drew away some who had adhered to it from the beginning, and it prevented others from joining it, who, if Methodism had never arisen, would have united themselves to it.

Of the forty congregations of which I have spoken as

having been connected more or less with the labours of Mr. Heywood, five had become extinct before the year 1750, namely, those at Topcliffe, Clifford, Barnsley, Fishlake, and Attercliffe. In 1773 the ministers of the Old Dissent in the West Riding who subscribed the petition to Parliament for relief from subscription were only twenty-four*. At the beginning of the next century the chapels at the following places were either closed or had received ministers no longer of the Presbyterian denomination:—all in the parish of Halifax, except Halifax and Elland; all in the parish of Bradford, except Bradford itself; Keighley, Idle, Pudsey, Cleck-Heaton, Ossett, Hopton, Bingley, Winterburn, Knaresborough, Pontefract, and Bull-house; being nearly all the rural congregations, leaving few but those in the larger towns, and some of those were in a declining state.

This process of declension, however, has not continued, and in the forty years which have passed of the present century there has been little change in the number of congregations of the Old Dissent, or in the number of persons composing them. This is a remarkable circumstance, and it is probably to be attributed as principal causes to the introduction of a more doctrinal style of preaching, and the giving greater prominence to the peculiar doctrines professed, as distinguished from the mere moral discourses of the former race of Presbyterian ministers; and, secondly, to there being a degree of permanency and precision given to the views of Gospel truth which are taken by them, which were wanting in

* Namely, Mr. Dickinson and Mr. Evans of Sheffield; Mr. Moulton of Rotherham; Mr. Marshall of Lidget; Mr. Scott of Doncaster; Mr. Hall of Stanington; Mr. Halliday of Bull-house; Mr. Benn of Swale-dale; Dr. Priestley of Leeds; Mr. Whitaker of Leeds; Mr. Ralph of Halifax; Mr. Graham; Mr. Evans of Mixenden; Mr. Maurice of Pudsey; Mr. Simpson of Warley; Mr. Morgan of Morley; Mr. Philips of Keighley; Mr. Turner of Wakefield; Mr. Lillie of Bingley; Mr. Dean of Bradford; Mr. Dawson of Idle; Mr. Phillips of Sowerby; Mr. Coppock of Pontefract; and Mr. Lewis of Eastwood.

the earlier years of Presbyterian Dissent. It is but too evident that their principle of free inquiry and the resistance to creeds exposed them to be carried about by every wind of doctrine, so that the truth of one generation was regarded but as error by the next. But in the Socinianism of Lindsey and those admirable men who thought and acted with him, they seem to have found a solid and permanent ground of belief, and to have anchored upon it as in a haven of security.

Such, then, is a brief view of the more material changes in opinion in the religious community which Mr. Heywood was a principal instrument in calling into existence, and of the process by which they have become what we now see them. If they have erred, they have been led astray by a light from heaven; for who that has known them, and has had the means of knowing what the past generations of them have been, but must bear them witness that they have had the earnest desire to know the truth, and have been swayed as little as possible by any corrupt bias to the point of Christian belief at which they now stand? We say our fathers left us free to pursue the truth, and put into our hands the means of doing so. It will be a hard measure of justice if those means are to be taken from us, and our funds and chapels and the very grave grounds in which our forefathers are sleeping are to be taken from us and handed over to the people called into existence by the labours of such persons as Whitefield and others of his time, persons entirely alien from the Old Dissent. Whatever the intent of the founders may have been, it could not have been their intent to endow a body of religionists who did not come into existence till long after the full establishment of Presbyterian Dissent; nor could the belief of the majority of the Presbyterians have so soon lost its orthodox character, had their founders really tied them up in the bands of orthodoxy.

As the professors of this system of Christian faith, they

form an important element in religious society, as in their general character they do in civil society. Mr. Heywood has not laboured in vain, though the ultimate effects of his labours have been doubtless something different from those which he himself contemplated ; but who can calculate what the effect will be when he sets a stone in motion which he has hewn out of the great rock of the Church ? Whether further changes will be made, whether the body will be influenced still more than it has been by the minds of Germany, which have always had such a powerful influence on English inquiry, or will recede something from the point at which they now stand, restoring at least their sanctity and importance to the Sacraments, it is only time that shall determine ; or whether some means may not yet be found of uniting all the followers of Christ in one ecclesiastical union ; but it is a remarkable fact, that now, for forty years, a body formerly so changeable has been nearly stationary in opinion, though still adhering to the ancient principle of Dissent, the right of private judgment and the duty of professing the results of the exercise of it. It is some slight presumption that they have recovered the primitive faith.

INDEX.

- ACADEMIES**, Dissenting, foundation of, 242; that at Warrington has Lord Willoughby, an old Presbyterian, for its president, 277; Northern Academies, 426.
- Ainsworth, Dissenting meeting there, 241.
- Ainsworth, Mr., minister at Lightcliffe, 79.
- Aislabie, Mr., registrar of the spiritual court at York, killed in a duel, 264.
- Akehurst, Mr., Mr. Heywood's tutor at Cambridge, 44.
- Aldred, Mr., his ordination, 356.
- Allen, Mr., rector of Prestwich and minister at Ripponden, 78.
- Altham, an Independent church established there very early, 64.
- Alverthorpe, early Non-Conformist meeting there, 241; Mr. Heywood interrupted when preaching there, 260.
- Ambrose, Mr., of Preston, a chief supporter of Presbyterianism in Lancashire, 62.
- Anabaptists or Baptists, rise of, in Yorkshire, 280.
- Anderton, Roger, his ordination, 378.
- Andrews, Mrs., of Little Lever Hall, Mr. Heywood's godmother, 29.
- Angier, John, of Denton, a popular Puritan minister, 32; a chief supporter of Presbyterianism in Lancashire, 62; scheme of Mr. Heywood's living awhile with him, 68; his daughter married to Mr. Heywood, 90; some particulars of his early history, 91; arrested after the battle of Worcester, 108; privy to Sir George Booth's designs, 113; keeps his place, though not conforming under the Uniformity Act, 151; his death, 275.
- Angier, Samuel, his ordination, 244.
- Angier, Samuel, another, his ordination, 353.
- Annesley, Dr., his congregation invite Mr. Heywood, 391.
- Antinomianism preached in the parish of Halifax in the Commonwealth times, 78.
- Antrobus, Mr., of Knutsford, 188.
- Ararat, suggestion of a singular coincidence, 43.
- Arianism, introduction of it among the Presbyterians, 441.
- Armitage, Godfrey, of Lidget, a great friend of Mr. Heywood, 217.
- Armitage, Sir John, of Kirklees, 152; searches Mr. Heywood's house, 165; his unfortunate death, 282.
- Arthington, Mrs., sister of Lord Fairfax, 209, 219.
- Aspinal, a minister ejected at Mathersey, 203.
- Assembly of Divines, constitution and purpose of the, 54.
- Ault, William, lecturer at Halifax, 77; removes to Bury, 83; lays hands on Mr. Heywood at his ordination, 98.
- Aurora borealis, appearance of, 35.
- Bacup, in Rossendale, origin of the Baptist Society there, 281.
- Bagshaw, William, his *De Spiritualibus Peccis*, 196; his testimony to Mr. Heywood's 'Heart-treasure,' 205.
- Ball's Catechism, 31; the author of it, *ib.*
- Baptism of Mr. Heywood, 29.
- 'Baptismal Bonds,' published, 356.
- Baptists, rise of, in Yorkshire, 280.
- Barksdale's Memorials, singular passage from, 23.
- Barlow, Mr., lecturer at Halifax, 77.
- Barnes, Ambrose, of Newcastle, MS. account of his life and opinions, 48.
- Bartholomew Day, observance of, by religious exercises, 162, 166, 219, 279.
- Bath, Robert, minister of Rochdale, lays hands on Mr. Heywood at his ordination, 98.
- Baxter, his 'Life and Times,' 138.
- Bayley, Samuel, a young minister, 252; his death and character, 271.
- Beebee, Mr., a Non-Conformist minister, 326.
- Bentley, Eli, Mr. Heywood's acquaintance with him at college, 49; put into the church of Halifax, 78;

- preaches at the funeral of Mr. Heywood's mother, 92; turned out of the church of Halifax, 126; retires to Bingley on the Five Mile Act, 176; preaches at Halifax, 241; at Sowerby, 255; his death, 270.
- 'Best Entail,' published, 381.
- Best, Richard, of Landimer, character of, 88; singular genealogy of his family, 89.
- Beswick, Mr., rector of Radcliffe, wishes to put the law in motion against Mr. Heywood, 165.
- Bingley, character of the gentry there, 202; dissenting chapel there, 386; disputes in the congregation, 401.
- Binns of Rushforth-hall, extinction of the family, 202.
- Binns, Robert, a friend of Mr. Heywood, 206.
- Birchall, William, a friend of Mr. Heywood, 45.
- Birch-hall, conventicle there, 188.
- Birds, remarkable singing of, in the night, 159.
- Birkbeck, Mr., an ejected minister, frequently mentioned, his death, 262.
- Blamire, Jonas, his ordination, 394.
- Bloom, Mr., an ejected minister, his dispute with Mr. Hancock, 294.
- Bolton, his writings highly valued by Mr. Heywood, 47.
- Bolton, Robert, Esq., a favourer of the Reformation, 5.
- Bolton-en-le-Moors, parish of, an ancient seat of religion, 4; the Geneva of Lancashire, 35; a dissenting chapel built there, 388; but see the work *passim*.
- Book of Sports, 19.
- Books most in favour with a rigid Puritan, 205.
- Booth, Sir George, his rising, 1659, 111; visited by Mr. Heywood when Lord Delamere, 1665, 178.
- Booth, Robert, minister of Halifax in the time of the Commonwealth, 78.
- Boundary of Yorkshire and Cheshire, 207.
- Bourn, considered by some the father of Puritanism at Manchester, his preaching, 6.
- Bourn, a minister, 81.
- Boys, Mr., lecturer at Halifax, 76.
- Bradbury, Thomas, early notice of, 385.
- Bradford, a Protestant martyr in the reign of Mary, his labours and letters, 4.
- Bradshaigh, Sir Roger, anecdote of, 196.
- Bradshaw, Peter, minister at Ainsworth, lays hands on Mr. Heywood at his ordination, 98.
- Bramhope, chapel of, foundation and constitution of the, 164.
- Brearccliffe, John, of Halifax, his death, 316.
- Briscoe, Michael, a very early Independent minister in Lancashire, 64.
- Broadhead, Mr., vicar of Batley, interrupts Mr. Heywood while preaching, 211.
- Brooksbank of Elland, 252.
- Brown, Robert, an early Independent, 59.
- Browne, Sir Thomas, his residence at Halifax, 87.
- Broxholme, a minister, silenced at Denton, 16.
- Bruck, William, a favourer of the Reformation, 5.
- Bruen, John, of Bruen-Stapleford in Cheshire, attends the lecture at Manchester, 6; breaks the painted windows in his chapel at Tarvin, 27.
- Buckingham, Duke of, favours the Non-Conformists, 197; visits Halifax, 258; rebukes persons who would disturb the meetings of the Non-Conformists, 261; fatal event at York, his connexion with, 263.
- Bull-house, chapel built, 387.
- Bunting, Henry, his *Itinerarium Totius S. S.*, 45.
- Bury, Mr., of Suffolk, collecting information respecting the ejected ministers, 389.
- Butterworth, John, of Warley, his house licensed in 1672, for Non-Conformist worship, 240.
- Byrom, Edward, his ordination, 353.
- Calamy, Dr., his 'Lives of the Ejected Ministers,' 138; indebted to Mr. Heywood, 396.
- Cambridge, Mr. Heywood's admission at Trinity College, 43; state of the University, 44.
- Carrington, Mr., his ordination, 363.
- Cart, of Hansworth, Mr., an ejected minister, his death, 262.
- Catalepsy, case of, 167.
- Chaderton, Robert, his ordination, 351.
- Chester taken military possession of by Sir George Booth, 1659, 112.
- Chorlton, Mr., succeeds Mr. Newcome as pastor of the Presbyterians of Manchester, 388.

- Church, the three leading senses of the term, 58.
- Churches of England, exquisite beauty of, before the Reformation, 28.
- 'Christ's Intercession,' published, 402.
- Clarendon, Lord, petty in his public conduct, 48.
- Clarkson, Mr., minister at Illingworth, 79.
- Clayton, Giles, an early minister at Coley, 84.
- Clayton, of Rotherham, Mr., an ejected minister, frequently mentioned, his death, 262.
- 'Closet Prayer,' publication of Mr. Heywood's treatise so entitled, 210.
- Coley, Mr. Heywood's settlement there, 69; foundation of the chapel, 72; succession of ministers before Mr. Heywood, 80; Mr. Heywood's successors, 149, 269, 273, 323.
- Colton, Thomas, his ordination, 377.
- Comprehension, scheme of, for the Presbyterians, in 1667, 199.
- Conferences, 209.
- Conventicles, Act of, 1664, 161; renewed in 1667, 199, 201.
- Conversion, Mr. Heywood's notion of, 38.
- Coore, Richard, minister at Croston, an Antinomian, 79.
- Corporation Act passed 1661, 249.
- Cotes, an ejected minister, 214; his death, 327.
- Cotton, family of, frequently mentioned.
- Cotton, Thomas, the minister, his education, 253, 263; his ordination, 390.
- Cotton, William, his death, 270.
- Court, Ecclesiastical, at York, Mr. Heywood summoned before it, 130.
- Critchlaw, William, his death, 36.
- Critchlaw, family of, 22, 33, 211.
- Crompton, Mrs. Abigail, the second wife of Mr. Heywood, 190.
- Crompton, the family of, 190.
- Crossley, David, an early Antinomian and Anabaptist in Yorkshire, 281.
- Cudworth, Mr., an early minister at Coley, 84.
- Cunliffe, Jennet, daughter of Robert Cunliffe, Esq., excommunicated by an Independent church, 298.
- Darnton, Mr., his ordination, 284.
- Dawson, Joseph, an ejected minister, his marriage, 89; comes to reside near Mr. Heywood, 168; his ordination, 244; baptism of his son Eliezer, 255; one of the preachers at Sowerby, 255; sepulchral memorial of his family at Morley, 272.
- Dawson, Abraham, his ordination, 356.
- Dawson, Joseph, junior, his ordination, 379.
- 'Denomination,' technical use of the word, 226.
- Denton, Jonathan, Mr. Heywood's funeral sermon for him, 386.
- Denton, Mr., minister at Coley, 82.
- Denton, Nathan, thought to be the last survivor of the ejected ministers, 316.
- Derby, slight insurrection there in 1659, 111.
- Derby, James Earl of, attacks Bolton, and is afterwards put to death there, 36.
- Derby, Charles Earl of, anecdotes of, 196.
- Devonshire, William Earl of, anecdote of, 196.
- Dickenson, Robert, an occasional preacher, 303.
- Dickenson, Thomas, his ordination, 379; succeeds Mr. Heywood at Northowram, 406.
- Discipline, clerical, a peculiar kind at Manchester, 7.
- Discipline, Mr. Heywood's unfortunate attempt to set up, at Coley, 98.
- Disney, Gervase, his 'Biographical Confessions,' 205.
- 'Dissenting Brethren,' the, 59.
- Distrain on Mr. Heywood's goods, 215, 218.
- Dodsworth, his collections one of the evidences of the Heywoods of Heywood, 3.
- Drake, Captain, of Pontefract, a friend of Mr. Heywood, 219.
- Drake, Mrs., her case alluded to, 23.
- Drakes, the, of Shibden, 89.
- Drought of 1681, 305.
- Duckinfield, Independency there, 64.
- Dury, Mr., kept possession of the chapel at Honley though not conforming under the Uniformity Act, 157.
- Dyneley, Robert, Esq., of Bramhope, commencement of Mr. Heywood's acquaintance with him, 163; Mr. Heywood visits him, 176, 179.
- Dyneley, William, death of, 189.
- Earthquake, 1669, 211.
- Eaton, Samuel, of Duckinfield, an early Independent, 64.
- Eccles, a barn there converted into a meeting-house, 388.
- Education among the Puritans, 39.
- 'Ejected ministers,' sense in which the term is used, 138.
- Election of ministers, 261.
- Elland, foundation of the chapel, 395.

- Ellenthorpe, foundation of the chapel there, 164.
- Ellis, Stephen, a zealous churchman and great opponent of Mr. Heywood at Coley, 128, 150, 214, 220.
- Ellison, Timothy, curate of Coley, 323.
- Entwisle, Mr., a magistrate, Mr. Heywood taken before, 292.
- Excommunication, sentence of, against Mr. Heywood, 149; another, 151; a third, 157; a fourth, 297; excommunication by a Presbyterian body, 65; by an Independent, 298.
- Eyam, in Derbyshire, notice of the Plague there, 196.
- Fairbank, Mr., minister at Luddenden, 79.
- Fairfax, Colonel Charles, Mr. Heywood visits him, 176.
- 'Family Altar,' published, 381.
- Farnley-wood Plot, 154.
- Favour, Dr., vicar of Halifax, 76, 77.
- Fawcett, Rev. Dr., his misrepresentation of Mr. Heywood's license, 233.
- Firbeck, Mr. Heywood preaches at the public chapel there, 289, 292.
- Firth, Mr., vicar of Mansfield, his regard for the Non-Conformists, 326.
- Five members, the king's demand of the, fast on occasion of, 33.
- Five Mile Act, 172; one effect of it, 177.
- Flanshaw-hall, Puritan service there, 168.
- Flood, great, noticed, 43.
- Fourness, Tobias, minister of Bury, lays hands on Mr. Heywood at his ordination, 98.
- Frankland, Richard, an ejected minister, at the head of the Northern Academy, 242; visit of Mr. Heywood, 311, 323; visits Mr. Heywood in prison, 322; writes a treatise against a Socinian, 393; his death, 396.
- Fulwood, foundation of the chapel, 415.
- Funeral feasts, 405.
- 'Gathered Churches,' how used, 60.
- Gee, Edward, an eminent Puritan minister, 89.
- 'General Assembly,' published, 397.
- German ministers, two, visit England, 188.
- Gibson, Mr., an early minister at Coley, 80.
- 'God's-gift,' a baptismal name in the family of an ejected minister, 253.
- Goodwin, Richard, minister at Bolton, 65; lays hands on Mr. Heywood at his ordination, 98.
- Grammar-schools, method of teaching in them, 41.
- Greek pronounced in the University manner, 42.
- Green, Peter, his ordination, 363.
- Greenwood, an attorney at Coley, 129.
- Gregg, Mr., vicar of Bolton, baptizes Mr. Heywood, 29; his family, 30.
- Hales of Eton, a 'Helluo Librorum,' 118.
- Halifax, parish of, its inhabitants, history, &c., 71; dissenting chapel built at the town, 387, 389.
- Hammond, Samuel, his great influence as a preacher at Cambridge, 48.
- Hampton Court, conference at, 15, 17.
- Hancock, Rowland, an ejected minister, committed to the castle at York for preaching, 210; his dispute with Mr. Bloom, 294.
- Hand-fasting, ceremony of, 91.
- Hardcastle, minister of Shadwell, 166; imprisoned, 207, 209.
- Harpur, John, minister at Bolton, 65; lays hands on Mr. Heywood at his ordination, 98.
- Harrison of Walmesley chapel, a Puritan minister, 32; afterwards of Ash-ton, a chief supporter of Presbyterianism in Lancashire, 62.
- Hartley, David, father and son, 358, 404.
- Hatfield, Mr. John, of Laughton-en-le-Morthen, 184.
- Hatfield, Mrs. Martha, her strange case, 167, 184.
- Haughton, scheme to settle Mr. Heywood there, 70.
- Hawksworth, an ejected minister, his death, 204.
- Hayhurst, Robert and Bradley, both ministers, 81.
- 'Heart-Treasure,' publication of the, 204.
- 'Heavenly Converse,' published, 395.
- Henry, Philip, his feeling in respect of Sir George Booth's design, 113; on the king's restoration, 120.
- Herle, Charles, rector of Winwick, a member of the Assembly of Divines, 54.
- Hesketh, Robert, minister at Northowram, 407.
- Hewet, Lady, of York, a friend of the Puritan ministry, 130.
- Hewley, Sir John, member for York, 130; Mr. Hodgson his chaplain, 218; Mr. Heywood visits him, 259, 280, 296; his and Lady Hewley's attention to Mr. Heywood when commit-

- ted to the castle at York, 331, 332, 333; other visits to them, 335, 337; his death, 389.
- Hewley, Lady, wife of Sir John Hewley, 130, 323, 386; her benefactions, 423, 425.
- Hey, John, of Craven, his a house of hospitality to the Non-Conformists, 279; ordinations there, 298, 303.
- Heyrick, Richard, warden of Manchester, a member of the Assembly of Divines, 54; a great supporter of Presbyterianism in Lancashire, 62; imprisoned after the battle of Worcester, 108; his sermon on the king's restoration, 120.
- Heywood, family of, 1.
- Heywood, manor of, 2; etymology of the name, 3.
- Heywood, Alice, mother of Mr. Heywood, her early history, 22; and character, 25; death, 92.
- Heywood, Eliezer, Mr. Heywood's younger son, birth, 92; early manifestations of religion, 183; his education by the same persons as his brother John. See Heywood, John; becomes chaplain to Major Taylor, at Walling-wells, 291; his ordination, 353; many other notices of him.
- Heywood, John, Mr. Heywood's eldest brother, his fate, 141.
- Heywood, John, Mr. Heywood's son, birth, 92; early manifestations of religion, 183; at Hipperholm school, 173; at school with David Noble, 234; goes to Mr. Hickman, 253; to Mr. Frankland, 263; to Edinburgh, 273; teaches school at Kirk-Heton, and becomes minister of the Non-Conformists in Craven, 291; ordained, 303; chaplain to Lady Wilbraham, 304; many other notices of him.
- Heywood, Josiah, Mr. Heywood's younger brother, his fate, 141.
- Heywood, Nathaniel, brother of Oliver, at school and college, 50; his course on leaving the University, 89; minister at Illingworth, and lives in the same house with his brother, 89; removes to Ormskirk, 90; his sermon on the king's restoration, 121; assiduous in preaching when ejected, 182; his death, 275.
- Heywood, Nathaniel, the younger, his ordination, 353.
- Heywood, Oliver, the elder, his conversion, 7.
- Heywood, Oliver, a Roman Catholic priest so called, 30.
- Heywood, Richard, father of Mr. Heywood, his early history, 21; goes to Holland on parish affairs, 37; his dispute with the Congregational Eldership at Bolton, 65; his misfortunes, 141; his death, 274.
- Hickman, Mr., an ejected minister, has an academy for the education of ministers, 253.
- Hickson, Robert, a principal favourer of Non-Conformity at Leeds, 177; Mr. Heywood dedicates his new house, 210.
- Hill, Edward, an ejected minister, death of, 211.
- Hill, Joshua, a Puritan minister, 22.
- Hill, Sir Richard, parallel to his case, 23.
- Hill, Dr. Thomas, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, 44.
- Hipperholm school, foundation of, 86.
- Hitch, Dr. Robert, account of, 185.
- Hodgson, Captain John, frequently mentioned, his early history, 86; a conventicle broken up at his house, 152; arrested and taken to York, 166; thanksgiving for his deliverance, 177; goes to reside at Cromwell-botham, 279.
- Hodgson, Timothy, son of Captain John, goes to be chaplain to Sir John Hewley, 218; his ordination, 298.
- Hoghton, Sir Richard, and others of his family, 106.
- Holdsworths, two ejected ministers so called, 220, 282.
- Holdsworth, John, his ordination, 363.
- Holdsworth, Dr. Richard, an early vicar of Halifax, 73, 77.
- Hollands of Denton, family of, 160.
- Holland, John, his ordination, 378.
- Hollingworth, Mr., of Manchester, a great supporter of Presbyterianism, 62; under arrest after the battle of Worcester, 108.
- Hollis family, their benefactions, 424.
- Holmfirth, Mr. Heywood preaches there, 157.
- Hooke, Dr. Richard, appointed vicar of Halifax, 126; refuses to sit down to meat with Mr. Heywood, then an excommunicate, 150; his remonstrance with Mr. Horton, 255; his great hostility to the Non-Conformists, 257, 261, 311; dies, 357.
- Hoole, Mr., one of Mr. Heywood's successors at Coley, 149.

- Hopton, chapel of, 219.
 Horrocks, a Puritan minister, 23, 32.
 Horton, Joshua, founds a chapel at Sowerby, 255; his disputes with Dr. Hooke, 256, 257; his death, 291.
 Horton, Mr., death of, 220.
 Hotham, John, Presbyterian minister at York, 334.
 Hough, Mr., vicar of Halifax after Dr. Hooke, anecdote of, 357.
 Houghton, Great, chapel there, 164, 261.
 Hovy, Mr., one of Mr. Heywood's successors at Coley, 273.
 Howarth, a profane place, 240.
 Hoyle, Lady, of York, a friend of the Puritan ministry, 130; her death, 207.
 Hoyle, Richard, death of his son, 220.
 Hubbert, minister of the chapel in Ainsworth, 8.
 Hulme, Banaster, son of a school-fellow of Mr. Heywood's, his death, 43.
 Hultons, family of, rich and religious, 7.
 Hulton, Adam, godfather to Mr. Heywood, 29.
 Hulton of the Park, a justice of the peace, protects Mr. Heywood, 165.
 Huttons of Poppleton near York, patrons of the Non-Conformists, 218; Mr. Heywood visits them, 334.
 Janney, Edward, a merchant at Manchester, and public benefactor, 5.
 Iconoclasm, English, on whom principally chargeable, 27.
 Idle, Mr. Heywood preaches there, 207, 213, 246; barn converted into a chapel, 386.
 Jennings, Sir Jonathan, kills Mr. Aislabie in a duel at York, 264.
 Jessop, Francis, Esq., of Broom-hall, anecdote of, 293.
 Independency, its characteristics, first appearance and rapid progress of the principle, 58; appearance of it and controversy in Lancashire, 63; Independent churches established there, 64; Independents desire to join Mr. Heywood's Presbyterian congregation, 238; an excommunication, 298; attempt at union, 372.
 Indulgence, the, of 1672, 224.
 Johnson, of Ellenbrook, a Puritan minister, 32.
 Johnson, Mr., Fellow of Manchester church, 125.
 Johnson, Mr., an ejected minister, 246, 407.
 Jollie, Major James, account of him, 49.
 Kay, Mr., minister at Rastrick, 79.
 Kaye, Sir John, of Woodsome, interview of Mr. Heywood with, 246.
 Kipping, Mr. Heywood preaches there, 248.
 Kirby, Joshua, lecturer at Wakefield, imprisoned after Sir George Booth's rising, 113; erects a pulpit in his house at Wakefield, 168; brings up a son to the ministry, 253; his death, 273.
 Kirshaw, Nicholas, his ordination, 369; disputes in his congregation, 400.
 Knaresborough, Mr. Heywood visits the Spa, 179.
 Knight, Sir Ralph, a favourer of Non-Conformity, 289; in the secret of Monk's designs, 326.
 Knocking, death-warnings, 220.
 Jollie, John, his ordination, 244.
 Jollie, Thomas, Mr. Heywood's acquaintance with him at Cambridge, 49; becomes an Independent, 64; a great friend of Captain Hodgson, 152; his conduct at an ordination, 370; but for Mr. Jollie see the work *passim*.
 Jollie, Timothy, ordination of, 299; his imprisonment, 310; visited in prison by Mr. Heywood, 323; his thoughts on Mr. Smith's heterodoxy, 401.
 Isherwood, Thomas, vicar of Eccles, school-fellow of Mr. Heywood, his death, 43.
 'Israel's Lamentation,' published, 318.
 Issot, John, his ordination, 283; pastor of the Craven Non-Conformists, 304.
 Lake, Dr., after bishop of Chichester, put by the Puritan authorities into the church of Halifax, 77.
 Lambert, General, his moderation after the defeat of Sir George Booth, 112.
 Lambert, John, son to the Major-General, 290; his lady, *ib.*
 Lancaster, Mr. Chaderton, the minister there, 352; Mr. Carrington, 363.
 Latham, Andrew, an early minister at Coley, 83.
 Latitudinarians, appearance of, in England, 146.
 Lay-preaching allowed by the Independents, 58; Mr. Heywood's opinion of it, 296, 313.
 Leach, Thomas, of Riddlesden-hall, baptism of his son David, 290.
 Learning, state of, in the Puritan ministry, 39.
 Lectures, one mode of diffusing the principles of the Reformation, 6;

- itinerant lecturers in Lancashire, 7 ;
lecture at Halifax, 76.
- Ledger, Thomas, of Idle, a friend of
Mr. Heywood's, 213, 287.
- Leeds, Mr. Heywood preaches there in
times of danger, 166, 176, 208, &c.;
arrested and imprisoned there, 213 ;
Mr. Nesse's meeting-house founded,
240 ; Mill-hill chapel founded, 241 ;
Mr. Heywood preaches in it, 259 ;
opposition of the magistrates, 260 ;
zeal of the Non-Conformists there,
268, 279.
- Leming, Ralph, a lay-preacher, 313.
- Lever (Little), birth-place of Mr. Hey-
wood, 2.
- Lever, Mr., ejected at Ainsworth, anecd-
ote of, 150.
- Liberty of conscience, King James' de-
claration for, 347.
- Library of Mr. Richard Heywood, 32 ;
burnt, 37.
- Licenses, the, of 1672, 225 ; Mr. Hey-
wood's, 232 ; Dr. Fawcett's mistake
about it, 233 ; withdrawn, 1675, 266.
- Lidget, Mr. Heywood preaches there,
217, 218, 248 ; opening of the cha-
pel, 385.
- 'Life in God's Favour,' publication of,
297.
- Lindsey, Rev. Theophilus, effects of his
conduct on the Presbyterians, 443.
- Lister, Accepted, his ordination, 379.
- Lister, John, his ordination, 363.
- Lister, Joseph, and his sons, notice of,
295.
- Lister, Thomas, of Shibden-hall, his fu-
neral, 288.
- London, Mr. Heywood's visit to, 317.
- London ministers, body of, 431.
- Lord's Supper, Presbyterians and Inde-
pendents have different modes of ce-
lebrating, 84 ; Mr. Heywood against
open communion, 100 ; used as a
ratificatory service, 238.
- Lowthian, Andrew, one of Mr. Hey-
wood's successors at Coley, 269.
- Macclesfield, Sir Thomas Parker, first
earl of, his parents, 179.
- Maleverer, Mrs. Mary, 235.
- Mallory, Miss, of Studley, fatal duel
about, 264.
- Mau, Isle of, eldest branch of the Hey-
woods remove thither, 3.
- Manchester, the lecture there in the
time of Queen Elizabeth, 6 ; a great
seat of Puritanism, 15 ; the Marpre-
late press there, 15 ; proceedings of
Non-Conformists there in 1672, 228,
231 ; Mr. Heywood invited to be the
minister, 389 ; singular choice of a
minister, 397.
- Manlove, Timothy, his ordination, 356.
- Marriage, Mr. Heywood performs the
ceremony of, 289.
- Marriage, sermon preached at, 23 ; Mr.
Heywood's to Mrs. Eliz. Angier, 91.
- Marsden, Gamaliel, his death, 306.
- Marsden (alias Ralphson), Jeremiah,
317.
- Marsden, Ralph, an early minister at
Coley, 80 ; his sons, 81.
- Marsh, a Protestant martyr in the reign
of Mary, his labours and letters, 4.
- Marsh, Mr., of Garson, 318.
- Marsh, Dr. Richard, deprived of his
vicarage of Halifax, 77 ; returns to
take possession of it, 126.
- Martindale, Adam, his autobiography,
43 ; his ordination, 94.
- Matrimonial case, submitted to the
judgment of ministers, 204.
- May-games, 191.
- Meetings of ministers, 375.
- 'Meetness for Heaven', published,
380.
- Meteor, extraordinary, or Northern
Light, 34.
- Methodism, its effects on the Old Dis-
sent, 447.
- Midgely, supposed author of the Turk-
ish Spy, 397.
- Midgely, vicar of Rochdale, his Puritan
scruple, 15.
- Milner, Mr., afterwards vicar of Leeds,
in the chapel of Sowerby-bridge, 78.
- Mitchel, James, his ordination, 379.
- Mitchel, Matthew, a Halifax man, goes
to New England, miseries there, 82.
- Mitchel, Richard, in Craven, his a house
of hospitality to the Non-Conformists,
279 ; the first ordination among the
Yorkshire Non-Conformists held
there, 284.
- Mitchell, William, an early Antinomian
and Anabaptist in Yorkshire, 281.
- Mixenden, chapel built, 398.
- Morley, foundation of the chapel there,
164 ; Mr. Heywood interrupted while
preaching there, 211 ; memorials of
early Non-Conformists in the chapel
yard, 272.
- Moseley, Nicholas, of Ancoats, his
death, 244.
- Mottram in Longdendale, Mr. Heywood
preaches there, 160 ; the church for-
merly subordinate to Silkston, 207.
- Murcot, Mr., a minister in Ireland, 81.

- Murgatroyds of Riddlesden-hall, their extinction, 203.
- Music, church, Mr. Heywood's reflections on, 132.
- Newcome, Henry, Presbyterian minister at Manchester, account of his early life, 109; privy to Sir George Booth's designs, 113; his sermon on the king's restoration, 120; address for his license to preach in 1672, 231.
- 'New Creature,' published, 384.
- New mode of preaching, 384.
- Nicholls, Mr., an early minister at Coley, 80.
- Noble, David, a minister and schoolmaster, 234; chaplain to Mr. Woolhouse of Glapwell, 302; account of him, *ib.*
- Northowram, beginning of the Non-Conforming congregation there, 235; chapel built, 356; school, 357; Mr. Heywood's successors in the ministry there, 406; but see the work *passim*.
- Norton in Derbyshire, Mr. Heywood's visit to, 327.
- Oates, Captain Thomas, of Morley, concerned in the Farnley-wood Plot, 155.
- Oates, Josiah, of Chickenley, frequently occurs; Mr. Heywood visits, 213, 219, 288; accompanies him to his trial at Wakefield, 330.
- Oates, Ralph, son of Captain Oates, his infamous conduct, 155.
- Ogle, Mr., an Independent minister, 301.
- Okey, Mr. Heywood's brother-in-law, 194.
- Old Testament names, great prevalence of, at Halifax, 75.
- Ordination among the Presbyterians, 56; the Independents, 58; of Mr. Heywood, 94; remarks on the importance of the service, 95; private unions of ministers for this purpose in the Commonwealth times, 94; Mr. Martindale's ordination, *ib.*; first Non-Conforming Presbyterian, 244; others, 283, 298, 299, and many other pages; change of opinion respecting, 429.
- Paget, the minister at Blackley, the first Oliver Heywood converted by his preaching, 8; silenced, 16.
- Palmer, Samuel, his 'Non-Conformists' Memorial,' 138.
- Papists, Non-Conformists' feeling towards, 250.
- Parker, Mrs., daughter of Colonel Venables, 179.
- Parr, Dr. Richard, bishop of Sodor and Man, his relative Mrs. Elizabeth Parr married to Mr. Nathaniel Heywood, 89.
- Pendlebury, Henry, minister at Holcomb, lays hands on Mr. Heywood at his ordination, 98.
- Peniston, a parish abounding in Puritan families, 156; Mr. Heywood preaches there, 160; again, and alarmed, 169; again, 182, 183.
- Perkins, his writings in esteem in the Puritan families, 32, 47.
- Pike, Robert, the minister at Bolton, 37.
- Pontefract, Mr. Heywood preaches in a malt-house there, 219.
- Pool's 'Synopsis,' original price, 282.
- Portrait of Mr. Heywood, 406.
- Prayer, precaution to deaden the sound of, 32; intensity of it in the Puritan families, 33; peculiar system of, 34.
- Preaching, different views of the effects of, 76.
- Presage of death, supposed, 216.
- Presbyterian Church of England, scheme of the, 55; never executed and why, 57; yet carried out in Lancashire, 62; predominant there, 64; book of proceedings of the Manchester Classis preserved, 65; illustration of the working of the system, *ib.*; Presbyterian provincial assembly of London dissolved in 1655, 108; position of the Presbyterians between Prelacy and Independency, 277.
- Presbyteries, the nine Lancashire, 62; members of the first Manchester and Bolton Presbyteries, 63.
- Preston, his writings in esteem in the Puritan families, 32, 47.
- Preston, Mr. Heywood invited to settle there as a minister, 106.
- Priestley, Jonathan, a friend of Mr. Heywood, 180.
- Priestley, Dr. Joseph, 444.
- Priestley, Nathaniel, his ordination, 379; settles at Halifax, 389.
- Private judgment, principle of, 432.
- Prodigies, 306.
- Pudsey, chapel built, 387.
- Puritan, brief notice of the peculiarities of this section of the Reformed, 8; Fuller's distinction of old and new, 118.
- Pyke, Thomas, minister at Radcliffe, lays hands on Mr. Heywood at his ordination, 98.
- Quakers, how regarded by the Presbyterians, 45.
- Radcliffe, Dr. John, anecdote of his youth, 260.

- Rathband, a Puritan minister, silenced at Ainsworth, 16; one of Mr. Heywood's schoolmasters, 40.
- Rawden, Mr., of Rawden, Mr. Heywood visits him, 176, 191; his death, 209.
- Ray, John, his ordination, 363.
- Resesby, Sir John, anecdote of, 293.
- Restoration of Charles II., a subject of great rejoicing to the Presbyterians, 120; anniversary observed by the Non-Conformists, 192.
- Richardson, Mr., an ejected minister, frequently mentioned; brings up a son to the ministry, 253; preaches with Mr. Heywood at Great Houghton, 261.
- Riche, Sylvanus, of Bull-house, 214; his descendants, 415.
- Right hand of fellowship, 355.
- Rither, James, his singular account of the people of Halifax, 74.
- Robinson, Mr., minister at Rastrick, 79.
- Rochdale, foundation of the Non-Conformist congregation there, 240.
- Rodes, Sir Edward, of Great Houghton, 186; his relict, 210; his descendants, 415.
- Root, the elder minister of the name, an early Independent, 64; put into the church of Halifax and removes to Sowerby, 77; his death, 212.
- Root, Timothy, a Non-Conforming minister for twenty-three years, conforms, 212; imprisoned, 216; one of the preachers at Sowerby, 271.
- Rotherham, chapel built, 387.
- Rothwell, Edward, his ordination, 379.
- Rudel, a schoolmaster near Horwich, 40.
- Rupert, Prince, his attack upon Bolton, 35.
- Rushforth-hall, in Bingley, one of the first places in Yorkshire licensed for Non-Conforming worship, 203.
- Rushworths of Riddlesden-hall, their extinction, 203.
- Rutherford, Lord, a Scotch nobleman, visits Mr. Heywood, 289.
- Rymer, collector of the *Fœdera*, his father's unhappy end, 154.
- Sacraments, diminution of respect for, 429.
- Sagar, Mr., his ordination, 379.
- Sale, Mr., an ejected minister, frequently mentioned; his death, 292.
- Salisbury, painted glass there broken, 2.
- Sampson, Dr., collects materials for a history of Puritanism, 387.
- Savile of Morley, extinction of the family of, 202.
- Scatcherd, Mr. Norrisson, his care of the memorials of the early Non-Conformists at Morley, 272.
- Scholefield, Jonathan, minister at Heywood chapel, lays hands on Mr. Heywood at his ordination, 98.
- Scots Presbyterians, their connexion with the English, 289.
- Secker, his early connexion with dissent, and conformity, 449.
- Sedascue, Major, of Gunthwaite, 186.
- Selden, a member of the Assembly of Divines, his opinions, 54.
- Servant, marriage of Mr. Heywood's, 263.
- Shalcross, Richard, of Manchester, a favourer of the Reformation, 5.
- Sharp, Abraham, 398.
- Sharp, minister at Leeds, his death, 398.
- Sharp, Sir Cuthbert, publication by him of parts of the MS. life of Ambrose Barnes, 49.
- Shaw, John, the ejected minister, 207; death of his son, 316.
- Shaw-chapel in parish of Prestwich, Mr. Heywood preaches there, 157; apprehended for preaching there, 292.
- Sheffield, ordination there, 299.
- Sibbes, Richard, his writings in esteem in the Puritan families, 32, 47.
- Silkston, church of, its extensive parish, 207.
- Slaughtwaite, Mr. Heywood preaches in the chapel there, 206.
- Smallwood, an ejected minister, his death, 204.
- Smith, Matthew, his intended ordination, 353; his ordination, 355; his questions at the first meeting of ministers, 376; minister at Mixenden, 398; his heresy, 399; his public announcement of it, 400, 401, 403.
- Socinianism, introduction of it among the Presbyterians, 443.
- Sorocold, family of, at Manchester, 5.
- Sowerby (see Roor), meeting-house erected there, 240, 255.
- Spawford, an ejected minister, 207.
- Stage-coach travelling, 317.
- Staniforth, Mr., of Firbeck, long services there, 292; fast, 326.
- Stanley, Sir Thomas, of Alderley, visited by Mr. Heywood, 174.
- Stanley, Sir Edward, a great friend of Mr. Nathaniel Heywood, 276.
- Stannington, foundation of the chapel there, 164.
- Stretton, Richard, one of the ministers at Leeds, 260, 392.

- Sunday, sports allowed on, 7; sabbatical strictness of the Puritans, 11, 20.
- Sunderland, Langdale, sells Coley-hall, &c., 86.
- Sunderland, Samuel, remarkable burglary in his house, 86.
- 'Sure mercies of David,' publication of the treatise so called, 216.
- Surey Demoniac, the, 368.
- Suspension from the ministry, sentence of, against Mr. Heywood, 131.
- Sutton, Dr., of Leicester, his collection of memoirs of the descendants of Joshua Kirby, 274.
- Swift, Mr., retains the church of Peniston, though not conforming under the Act of Uniformity, 156.
- Sylvester, Field, of Sheffield, 398.
- Sylvester, Matthew, publishes Baxter's 'Life and Times,' 138; present at a fast at Sheffield, 193.
- Taylor, Andrew, of York, Non-Conformists meet at his house, 259, 323; imprisoned, 333.
- Taylor, Major, of Walling-wells, Mr. Heywood's introduction to that family, 289; Mr. Eliezer Heywood goes to be his chaplain, 291; his death, 293.
- Taylor, Mr., minister at Chapel-le-Brears, an Antinomian, 79.
- Taylor, Timothy, an early Independent, 64.
- Test Act passed, 248; brought to bear against the Non-Conformists, 257.
- Texts, war of, 120, 125.
- Thirtieth of January services, by the Presbyterian ministers, 165.
- Thoresby, Paul, of Leeds, 212.
- Thoresby, Ralph, frequent mention of, *passim*; his conformity, 394; attends Mr. Heywood's funeral, 405.
- Thorpe, Richard, of Hopton, an ejected minister, frequently mentioned; his ordination, 284.
- Tildesley, Mr., of Dean, a chief supporter of Presbyterianism in Lancashire, 62; wishes to detain Mr. Heywood in Lancashire, 70; delivers the charge at Mr. Heywood's ordination, 95.
- Tillotson, Robert, father of archbishop Tillotson, 239, 435.
- Todd, Cornelius, one of the first four ministers at Mill-hill chapel, Leeds, 259.
- Toleration Act, provisions of, 359.
- Toleration, scheme of, for the Independents in 1667, 199.
- Tong, Mr., remarkable passage from his writings, 410.
- Topcliffe, the Independent congregation there, 271.
- Town, Robert, minister of Elland, an Antinomian, 78.
- Town, Mr., minister at Heptonstall, 79, 281.
- Toxteth-park chapel, Mr. Heywood preaches there, 288.
- Trusts, dissenting, 419.
- 'Turkish Spy,' supposed author of, 397.
- 'Two Worlds,' published, 399.
- Venables, Colonel, 179.
- Vincent, Mr., of Barnborough-grange, 186.
- Vincent, Thomas, a Non-Conformist minister, visited by Mr. Heywood in prison, 318.
- Uly, Dr., a divine in Essex, story of, 28.
- Uniformity, Act of, its provisions, 133.
- Union of Presbyterians and Independents, attempt at the, 109.
- Waddington, Robert, his ordination, 305.
- Waite, Mr., a Puritan minister at Halifax, 77.
- Wakefield, frequently mentioned, see the work *passim*; dedication of the chapel, 395.
- Wales, Elkana, an ejected minister, his death, 211.
- Walker, Joshua, of Rushforth-hall, in Bingley, a friend of Mr. Heywood, 202, 219, 288.
- Waller, the poet, a daughter of his buried at Morley, 272.
- Walmesley, an Independent church established there very early, 64.
- Ward, Ralph, of York, a minister, Mr. Heywood visits him in prison, 333.
- Warley, foundation of the congregation, 239; chapel built, 386; congregation adhere to Mr. Smith, the minister, notwithstanding his heretical opinions, 403.
- Waterhouse, Mr., ejected at Bradford, 175, 189, 407.
- Water-side, residence of Mr. Heywood's first known ancestor, 2.
- Watson, Lady, of York, widow of a lord-mayor, frequently mentioned; a great patron of Non-Conformity, 130; Mr. Heywood preaches at her house, 218.
- Waugh, Mr., a minister at Coley, 81.
- Wesley, his Puritan descent, 448.
- Westby, George, Esq., of Ravenfield, 185; his son Thomas Westby, 414.
- Wharton, Lord, 382.

- Whitaker, Thomas, an early student in Frankland's academy, 243; imprisoned at York, 310; Mr. Heywood at the same time, 331.
 'White's Friday,' at Derby, 111.
 Whitehurst, Richard, an ejected minister, his strange practices, 295.
 Whitleys of Cinderhills, at Coley, 129.
 Williams, Dr. Daniel, his benefactions, 425.
 Willoughby, Lord, 141, 277.
 Winterburn, opening of the chapel there, 312.
 Witchcraft, case of, 167; another supposed case, 220.
 Wittie, Dr. Robert, anecdote of, 130.
 Witton, Mr., of Thornhill, an ejected minister, his death, 262.
- Woodhead, Abraham, of Thong, a friend of Mr. Heywood, 278.
 Woodsome, Christmas festivities there, 246.
 Wordsworths, of Water-hall in Peniston, favourers of the Puritan ministry, 169.
 Wordsworth, John, of Swathe-hall, 181.
 Wright, Jonathan, his ordination, 379.
 Wright, vicar of Ecclesfield, a royalist clergyman, 125.
 York, Mr. Heywood invited to settle as minister in the church of Saint Martin's, 106; Monk's admission into the city, 112; activity of the Non-Conformists there, 259, 280, 296, 323.

T H E E N D .

A Catalogue of New Works and New Editions,

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, BROWN, AND CO.

CLASSIFIED INDEX.

AGRICULTURE AND RURAL AFFAIRS.

Baydon On valuing Rents, &c.	3
Crocker's Land-Surveying	7
Davy's Agricultural Chemistry	7
Greenwood's (Col.) Tree-Lifter	10
Hannam on Waste Manures	10
Johnson's Farmer's Encyclopaedia	14
Loudon's Encyclopaedia of Agriculture	17
" Self-Instruction for Farmers, &c.	17
" (Mrs.) Lady's Country Companion	17
Low's Elements of Agriculture	18
" Breeds of the Domesticated Animals of Great Britain	18
" On Landed Property	18
Whitley's Agricultural Geology	32

ARTS, MANUFACTURES, AND ARCHITECTURE.

Brand's Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art	5
Budze's Miner's Guide	5
Gwilt's Encyclopaedia of Architecture	10
Haydon's Lectures on Painting and Design	11
Loudon's Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture and Furniture	17
Porter's Manufacture of Silk	23
" " Porcelain & Glass	23
Reid (Dr.) On Warming and Ventilating	24
Savage's Dictionary of Printing	26
Steam Engine (The), by the Artisan Club	28
Ure's Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures, and Mines	31
" On Recent Improvements in Arts, &c.	31
Wathen's Egypt. Arts & Antiquities	31

BIOGRAPHY.

Aikin's Life of Addison	3
Bell's Lives of the most eminent British Poets	4
Biographical Dictionary of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge	4
Dover's Life of the King of Prussia	4
Dunham's Lives of the Early Writers of Great Britain	8
" Lives of the British Dramatists	8
Forster's Statesmen of the Commonwealth of England	9
" Lives of the most Eminent British Military Commanders	9
Grant's (Mrs.) Memoir and Correspondence	9
Hunter's Life of Oliver Heywood	14
James's Life of the Black Prince	14
" Lives of the most Eminent Foreign Statesmen	14
Mackintosh's Life of Sir Thomas More	16
Maunder's Biographical Treasury	21
Roberts's Duke of Monmouth	25
Roscoe's Lives of British Lawyers	25
Russell's Correspondence of the Fourth Duke of Bedford	4
Shelley's Lives of the most eminent Literary Men of Italy, Spain, and Portugal	26
" Lives of the most eminent French Writers	27
Smith's Memoirs of the Marquis De Pombal	27
Sovey's Lives of the Admirals	27
Tate's Horatius Restitutus	29

BOOKS OF GENERAL UTILITY.

Acton's Cookery	3
Black's Treatise on Brewing	4
Collegian's Guide (The)	6
Donovan's Domestic Economy	8
Hints on Etiquette	11
" Life	11
Hudson's Parent's Hand-book	13
" Executor's Guide	13
" on Making Wills	13
Lorimer's Letters to a Young Master Mariner	17
Loudon's Self-Instruction	17
Maunder's Treasury of Knowledge	20
Maunder's Scientific and Literary Treasury	21

MAUNDER'S TREASURY OF HISTORY

" Biographical Treasury	21
" Universal Class-Book	21
Parkes's Domestic Duties	24
Pycroft's (Rev. J.) Course of English Reading	24
Riddle's Latin and English Dictionaries	24
Short Whist	27
Thomson's Domestic Management of the Sick Room	30
" Interest Tables	30
Tomlin's Law Dictionary	30
Webster's Encyclopaedia of Domestic Economy	32

BOTANY AND GARDENING IN GENERAL.

Callcott's Scripture Herbal	6
Conversations on Botany	7
Drummond's First Steps to Botany	8
" Glendinning On the Culture of the Pine Apple	9
Greenwood's (Col.) Tree-Lifter	10
Henslow's Botany	11
Hoare On Cultivation of the Grape Vine on Open Walls	11
" On the Management of the Roots of Vines	11
Hooker's British Flora	12
" Icones Plantarum	12
" and Taylor's Muscologia Britannica	12
Jackson's Pictorial Flora	14
Knapp's Gramina Britannica	15
Lindley's Theory of Horticulture	16
" Outline of the First Principles of Horticulture	16
" Guide to the Orchard and Kitchen Garden	16
" Introduction to Botany	16
" Flora Medica	16
" Synopsis of British Flora	16
Loudon's Hortus Britannicus	17
" Lignosis Londinensis	18
" Self-Instruction for Gardeners, &c.	17
" Encyclopaedia of Trees	17
" " and Shrubs	17
" " Gardening	17
" " Plants	17
" Suburban Garden and Villa Companion	18
" Cemeteries and Church-yards	18
Repton's Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture	24
Rivers's Rose Amateur's Guide	24
Roberts On the Vine	24
Rogers's Vegetable Cultivator	25
Smith's Introduction to Botany	27
" English Flora	27
" Compendium of English Flora	27
" Ditto in Latin	26

CHRONOLOGY.

Blair's Chronological Tables	4
Calendar (Illuminated) and Diary for 1845	14
Nicolas's Chronology of History	22
Riddle's Ecclesiastical Chronology	24
Tate's Horatius Restitutus	29
Wathen's Chronology of Anc. Egypt	31

COMMERCE AND MERCANTILE AFFAIRS.

Kane's (Dr.) Industrial Resources of Ireland	14
Lorimer's Letters to a Young Master Mariner	17
McCulloch's Dictionary of Commerce and Commercial Navigation	19
Spackman's Statistical Tables	27
Steel's Shipmaster's Assistant	28

GEOGRAPHY & ATLASES.

Butler's Sketch of Ancient and Modern Geography	6
" Atlas of Modern Geography	6
" Ancient do.	6
De Strzelecki's New South Wales	8
Finch's Nat. Boundaries of Empires	9
Hill's New General Atlas	10
McCulloch's Geographical Dictionary	18
Malte-Brun's Geography	19
Murray's Encyclop. of Geography	22

HISTORY & CRITICISM.

Adair's (Sir R.) Memoir of his Mission to Vienna	3
--	---

ADDITION'S HISTORY OF THE KNIGHTS

" Templars	3
Bell's History of Russia	4
Blair's Chron. and Histor. Tables	4
Bloomfield's Edition of Thucydides	4
" Translation of do.	5
Cooley's History of Maritime and Inland Discovery	7
Crowe's History of France	7
Dahlmann's English Revolution	7
Dunham's History of Spain and Portugal	8
" History of Europe during the Middle Ages	8
" Hist. of the German Emp.	8
" History of Denmark	8
" Sveden, and Norway	8
" History of Poland	8
Dunlop's History of Fiction	8
Fergus's History of United States	9
Grant's (Mrs.) Memoir and Correspondence	9
Grattan's History of Netherlands	9
Horsley's Life of Richard III.	10
Horsley's Epitome of Criticism	12
Jeffrey's (Francis) Contributions to the Edinburgh Review	14
Keightley's Outlines of History	15
Laing's Kings of Norway	15
Macaulay's Essays contributed to the Edinburgh Review	19
Mackintosh's History of British Works	18
McCulloch's Dictionary, Historical, Geographical, and Statistical	18
Mackintosh's History of England	18
Maunder's Treasury of History	20
Moore's History of Ireland	21
Müller's Mythology	23
Nicolas's Chronology of History	22
Roberts's History of the Reformation	24
Ranker's Duke of Monmouth	25
Rome, History of	25
Russell's Correspondence of the Fourth Duke of Bedford	4
Scott's History of Scotland	26
Sismond's History of the Fall of the Roman Empire	27
" Italian Republics	27
Stebbing's History of the Church	23
" History of Reformation	23
Switzerland, History of	29
Sydney Smith's Works	27
Thirlwall's History of Greece	30
Tooke's History of Prices	30
Turner's History of England	31
Wright's Hist. of Society in England	32

JUVENILE BOOKS.

INCLUDING MRS. MARGET'S WORKS.	
Boy's own Book (The)	5
Hawes's Tales of the North American Indians	5
Howitt's (Wm.) Jack of the Mill	13
" " Boy's Country Book	13
Howitt's (Mary) Child's Picture and Verse Book	12
Ladies' (the Young) Book	32
Margot's Conversations—	
" On the History of England	20
" On Chemistry	19
" On Natural Philosophy	19
" On Political Economy	19
" On Vegetable Physiology	19
" On Land and Water	20
" The Game of Grammar	20
" Mary's Grammar	20
" Lessons on Animals, &c.	20
" Conversations on Language	20
Marryat's Masterman Ready—	
" Settlers in Canada	20
Maunder's Universal Class-Book	21
Pycroft's (Rev. J.) English Reading Summaries (Mrs. Felix) Mother's Primer	28
Uncle Peter's Fairy Tales	31

MEDICINE.

Bull's Hints to Mothers—	
" Management of Children	6
Copland's Dictionary of Medicine	7
Elliotson's Human Physiology	6
Holland's Medical Notes	11
Lefevre's (Sir George) Apology for the Nerves	16
Macleod On Rheumatism	18
Marx and Willis (Drs.) on Disease	20
Peira On Food and Diet	23
Reece's Medical Guide	24
Sandy On Mesmerism	26
Wigan (Dr.) On the Duality of the Mind	32

CATALOGUE.

ACTON (ELIZA.)—MODERN COOKERY,

In all its Branches, reduced to a System of Easy Practice. For the use of Private Families. In a Series of Receipts, all of which have been strictly tested, and are given with the most minute exactness. By ELIZA ACTON. Dedicated to the Young Housekeepers of England. Fcp. 8vo. illustrated by woodcuts, 7s. 6d. cloth.

"It is a general complaint of books, especially of treatises on science, that they are made from other books, instead of the facts being derived from observation or experiment. From this defect Eliza Acton's 'Modern Cookery in all its Branches' is free. Every recipe contained in its six hundred and odd pages has been tested by the only but pleasant method of trial—tasting, and pronounced good. Without the same experiment, it is impossible for a critic to form a satisfactory judgment upon a cookery-book; and as there seems at least a thousand recipes in the volume, such a mode of deciding would take a long time. So far as we can speak theoretically, the book is a good book. The arrangement is natural (in the order of English eating): beginning with soups and fish, and then proceeding to the garnish of gravies, sauces, and force-meats. Roast and boiled, made-dishes, potted meats, and vegetables follow; a long list of pies, puddings, confectionery, and what not, bring up the rear. British is the system upon which the whole is based; the methods are clearly described, and seem founded on chemical principles."—SPECTATOR.

ADAIR (SIR ROBERT).—AN HISTORICAL MEMOIR OF A

MISSION to the COURT of VIENNA in 1806. By the Right Honourable Sir ROBERT ADAIR, G.C.B. With a Selection from his Despatches, published by permission of the proper Authorities. 8vo. 18s. cloth.

"Sir Robert Adair's valuable Memoir needs no commendation. Its obvious utility, the nature of its contents, and the name of the author, will command the notice and appreciation of statesmen and historians."—ATHENÆUM.

ADDISON.—THE KNIGHTS TEMPLARS.

By C. G. ADDISON, Esq., of the Inner Temple. 2d Edition, enlarged. Square crown 8vo. with Illustrations, 18s. cloth.

ADDISON.—THE TEMPLE CHURCH IN LONDON:

Its History and Antiquities. By C. G. ADDISON, Esq., of the Inner Temple; Author of "The History of the Knights Templars." Square crown 8vo. with Six Plates, 5s. cloth.

Also,

A FULL AND COMPLETE GUIDE, HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE, TO THE TEMPLE CHURCH. (From Mr. Addison's "History of the Temple Church.") Square cr. 8vo. 1s. sewed.

AIKIN.—THE LIFE OF JOSEPH ADDISON.

Illustrated by many of his Letters and Private Papers never before published. By LUCY AIKIN. 2 vols. post 8vo. with Portrait from Sir Godfrey Kneller's Picture, 18s. cloth.

ALLAN.—A PICTORIAL TOUR IN THE MEDITERRANEAN;

Comprising Malta, Dalmatia, Turkey, Asia Minor, Grecian Archipelago, Egypt, Nubia, Greece, Ionian Islands, Sicily, Italy, and Spain. By J. H. ALLAN, Member of the Athenian Archaeological Society, and of the Egyptian Society of Cairo. Imperial 4to. with upwards of Forty Lithographed Drawings, and 70 Wood Engravings, £3. 3s. cloth.

AMY HERBERT.

By a LADY. Edited by the Rev. WILLIAM SEWELL, B.D. of Exeter College, Oxford. 2d Edition, 2 vols. fcp. 8vo. 9s. cloth.

"Amy Herbert paints nature to the life. It is by 'a Lady,' for whose soundness Mr. Sewell is sponsor. It is admirably adapted for the young of the higher classes, and we sincerely hope it may not be the fair author's last production."—CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCE.

BAILEY.—ESSAYS ON THE PURSUIT OF TRUTH,

And on the Progress of Knowledge. By SAMUEL BAILEY, Author of "Essays on the Formation and Publication of Opinions," "Berkeley's Theory of Vision," &c. 2d Edition, revised and enlarged. 8vo. 9s. 6d. cloth.

BAKEWELL.—AN INTRODUCTION TO GEOLOGY.

Intended to convey Practical Knowledge of the Science, and comprising the most important recent discoveries; with explanations of the facts and phenomena which serve to confirm or invalidate various Geological Theories. By ROBERT BAKEWELL. Fifth Edition, considerably enlarged. 8vo. with numerous Plates and Woodcuts, 21s. cloth.

BALMAIN.—LESSONS ON CHEMISTRY,

For the use of Pupils in Schools, Junior Students in Universities, and Readers who wish to learn the fundamental Principles and leading Facts: with Questions for Examination, Glossaries of Chemical Terms and Chemical Symbols, and an Index. By WILLIAM H. BALMAIN. With numerous Woodcuts, illustrative of the Decompositions. Fcp. 8vo. 6s. cloth.

BAYLDON.—ART OF VALUING RENTS AND TILLAGES,

And the Tenant's Right of Entering and Quitting Farms, explained by several Specimens of Valuations; and Remarks on the Cultivation pursued on Soils in different Situations Adapted to the Use of Landlords, Land-Agents, Appraisers, Farmers, and Tenants. By J. S. BAYLDON. 6th Edition, corrected and revised. By JOHN DONALDSON, Land-Steward, Author of "A Treatise on Manures and Grasses." 8vo. 10s. 6d. cloth.

BEALE (ANNE).—THE VALE OF THE TOWEY;

Or, Sketches in South Wales. By ANNE BEALE. Post 8vo. 10s. 6d. cloth.

"Miss Beale has been sojourning in the Vale of the Towey; and has thrown her enjoyment of its scenery, and her observations on the manners of its rustic population, into the form of a series of sketches. These, either by original design, or by the mode in which she happened to cast them, become connected together, as the book proceeds, by means of the characters, incidents, and fortunes involved in a rural love-match,—which, like all other love, does not run quite smooth to its ending. The great merit of her book is its truth; which leaves a strong impression on the reader's mind."—SPECTATOR.

BEDFORD CORRESPONDENCE. — CORRESPONDENCE OF

JOHN, FOURTH DUKE OF BEDFORD, selected from the Originals at Woburn Abbey: with Introductions by Lord JOHN RUSSELL.

8vo. Vol. 1 (1742-48), 18s. cloth; Vol. 2 (1749-60), 15s. cloth.

"The second volume of this publication includes a correspondence having relation to the period from the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to the death of George II. Its most remarkable portion bears upon an important question on which there exist some differences of opinion at the present time, viz. the intrigues which led to the junction of the Duke of Newcastle and Pitt, in 1757. The letters respecting the state of Ireland under the Viceroyalty of the Duke of Bedford, also here, are not a little interesting."—MORNING HERALD.

BELL.—LIVES OF THE MOST EMINENT ENGLISH POETS.

By ROBERT BELL, Esq. 2 vols. fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Titles, 12s. cloth.

BELL.—THE HISTORY OF RUSSIA,

From the Earliest Period to the Treaty of Tilsit. By ROBERT BELL, Esq. 3 vols. fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Titles, 18s. cloth.

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY

Of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Half-volumes 1 to 7 (AA to AZ-ZUBEYDI, comprising the letter A), 8vo. 12s. each, cloth.

* * * Published Quarterly.—The work will probably not exceed Thirty Volumes.

"We have carefully examined the articles under letter A, now completed, and have no reason to complain of any want of uniformity. There seems to have been, on the whole, a judicious apportioning of space, according to the importance of the individual. In order to secure this necessary uniformity, a society, which had no pecuniary profit as its end, was more likely to succeed than a private publisher, or body of publishers. In style, execution, and completeness, the lives are far superior to those of any biographical dictionary with which we are acquainted. The only one, indeed, with which, for completeness, it can be compared, is the French 'Biographie Universelle,' but in this respect it has very greatly the advantage." [The reviewer institutes a comparison in favour of the English work, too long to be quoted, and ends his paragraph as follows:—] "So that the Society's Dictionary must be regarded as a labour not only for Great Britain, but for Europe.—In all the articles there are two points in which they are fuller and more accurate than any previous work of the kind; and these are, the titles, dates, and places of publication of books, and their editions, and the sources from whence the materials have been derived for the biography." ATHENÆUM.

BLACK.—A PRACTICAL TREATISE ON BREWING,

Based on Chemical and Economical Principles: with Formulæ for Public Brewers, and Instructions for Private Families. By WILLIAM BLACK. Third Edition, revised and corrected, with considerable Additions. The Additions revised by Professor Graham, of the London University. 8vo. 10s. 6d. cloth.

"I take occasion, in concluding this article, to refer my readers to the 'Practical Treatise on Brewing,' by Mr. William Black, a gentleman of much experience in the business. His little work contains a great deal of useful information."—DR. CURE'S SUPPLEMENT TO HIS "DICTIONARY."

BLAINE.—AN ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF RURAL SPORTS;

Or, a complete Account, Historical, Practical, and Descriptive, of Hunting, Shooting, Fishing, Racing and other Field Sports and Athletic Amusements of the present day. By DELABERE P. BLAINE, Esq. Author of "Outlines of the Veterinary Art," "Canine Pathology," &c. &c. Illustrated by nearly 600 Engravings on Wood, by R. Branton, from Drawings by Aiken, T. Landseer, Dickes, &c. 1 thick vol. 8vo. £2. 10s. cloth.

BLAIR'S CHRONOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL TABLES,

From the Creation to the present time: with Additions and Corrections from the most authentic Writers; including the Computation of St. Paul, as connecting the Period from the Exode to the Temple. Under the revision of Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H., Principal Librarian of the British Museum. Imperial 8vo. 31s. 6d. half-bound morocco.

"The student of history, long accustomed to the Doctor's ponderous and unmanageable folio, will rejoice over this handsome and handy volume. It is the revival and enlargement, in a far more compact and available form than the original, of the celebrated 'Chronological Tables' of Dr. Blair. It comprises additions to our own time, and corrections from the most recent authorities. The outline of the plan is faithfully preserved and carried out, with every improvement of which it was susceptible."—EXAMINER.

BLOOMFIELD.—HISTORY OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

By THUCYDIDES. A New Revision of the Text, with a carefully amended Punctuation; and copious NOTES, Critical, Philological, and Explanatory, almost entirely original, but partly selected and arranged from the best Expositors: accompanied with full Indexes, both of Greek Words and Phrases explained, and matters discussed in the Notes. The whole illustrated by Maps and Plans, mostly taken from actual surveys. By the Rev. S. T. BLOOMFIELD, D.D. F.S.A. 2 vols. 8vo. 38s. cloth.

BLOOMFIELD.—HISTORY OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

By THUCYDIDES. Newly translated into English, and accompanied with very copious Notes, Philological and Explanatory, Historical and Geographical. By the Rev. S. T. BLOOMFIELD, D.D. F.S.A. 3 vols. 8vo. with Maps and Plates, £2. 5s. boards.

BLOOMFIELD.—THE GREEK TESTAMENT:

With copious English Notes, Critical, Philological, and Explanatory. By the Rev. S. T. BLOOMFIELD, D.D. F.S.A. 5th Edition, improved. 2 vols. 8vo. with a Map of Palestine, £2, cloth.

BLOOMFIELD.—COLLEGE & SCHOOL GREEK TESTAMENT;

With English Notes. By the Rev. S. T. BLOOMFIELD, D.D. 3d Edition, greatly enlarged, and very considerably improved, 12mo. 10s. 6d. cloth.

BLOOMFIELD.—GREEK AND ENGLISH LEXICON TO THE

NEW TESTAMENT: especially adapted to the use of Colleges, and the Higher Classes in Public Schools; but also intended as a convenient Manual for Biblical Students in general. By Dr. BLOOMFIELD. 2d Edition, much enlarged, and in all respects very greatly improved. 12mo. on wider paper. *[In the press.]*

BOY'S OWN BOOK (THE):

A Complete Encyclopaedia of all the Diversions, Athletic, Scientific, and Recreative, of Boyhood and Youth. 20th Edition, square 12mo. with many Engravings on Wood, 6s. boards.

BRANDE.—A DICTIONARY OF SCIENCE LITERATURE,

AND ART; comprising the History, Description, and Scientific Principles of every Branch of Human Knowledge; with the Derivation and Definition of all the Terms in General Use. Edited by W. T. BRANDE, F.R.S.L. & E.; assisted by JOSEPH CAUVIN, Esq. The various departments are by Gentlemen of eminence in each. 1 very thick vol. 8vo. illustrated by Wood Engravings, £3, cloth.

BRAY.—THE PHILOSOPHY OF NECESSITY;

Or, the Law of Consequences as applicable to Mental, Moral, and Social Science. By CHARLES BRAY. 2 vols. 8vo. 15s. cloth.

BREWSTER.—TREATISE ON OPTICS.

By Sir DAVID BREWSTER, LL.D. F.R.S., &c. New Edition. Fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Title, and 176 Woodcuts, 6s. cloth.

BUDGE (J.).—THE PRACTICAL MINER'S GUIDE;

Comprising a Set of Trigonometrical Tables adapted to all the purposes of Oblique or Diagonal, Vertical, Horizontal, and Traverse Dialling; with their application to the Dial, Exercise of Drifts, Lodes, Slides, Levelling, Inaccessible Distances, Heights, &c. By J. BUDGE. New Edition, 8vo. *[In the press.]*

BULL.—THE MATERNAL MANAGEMENT OF CHILDREN,

in HEALTH and DISEASE. By T. BULL, M.D. Member of the Royal College of Physicians, Physician-Accoucheur to the Finsbury Midwifery Institution, Author of "Hints to Mothers for the Management of their Health during Pregnancy and in the Lying In Room." A New Edition, revised and enlarged. Fcp. 8vo. 7s. cloth.

. The whole work has been carefully revised, a considerable portion entirely re-written, and several new sections added.

"Excellent guides, and deserve to be generally known."—JOHNSON'S MEDICO-CHIRURGICAL REVIEW.

BULL.—HINTS TO MOTHERS,

For the Management of Health during the Period of Pregnancy and in the Lying-in Room; with an Exposure of Popular Errors in connection with those subjects. By THOMAS BULL, M.D. Physician Accoucheur to the Finsbury Midwifery Institution, &c. &c. 4th Edition, revised and considerably enlarged. Fcp. 8vo. 7s. cloth.

BURDER.—ORIENTAL CUSTOMS,

Applied to the Illustration of the Sacred Scriptures. By SAMUEL BURDER, A.M. 3d Edit. with additions. Fcp. 8vo. 8s. 6d. cloth.

Houses and Tents—Marriage—Children—Servants—Food and Drink—Dress and Clothing—Presents and Visiting—Amusements—Books and Letters—Hospitality—Travelling—Respect and Honour—Agriculture—Cattle and Beasts—Birds, Insects, and Reptiles—Fruit and Wine—Kings and Government—War—Punishments—Religion—Time and Seasons—Medicine—Funerals, &c.

BURNS.—THE PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY;

containing the Doctrines, Duties, Admonitions, and Consolations of the Christian Religion. By JOHN BURNS, M.D. F.R.S. 5th Edition. 12mo. 7s. boards.

Man is created for a Future State of Happiness; on the Means by which a Future State of Happiness is procured; of what is required of Man that he may obtain a Future State of Happiness; of the Nature of the Future State of Happiness; of the Preparation for the Future State of Happiness; of Personal Duties; of Relative Duties; of the Duties Men owe to God; of the Admonitions and Consolations afforded by the Christian Religion.

BURNS.—CHRISTIAN FRAGMENTS ;

Or, Remarks on the Nature, Precepts, and Comforts of Religion. By JOHN BURNS, M.D. F.R.S. Professor of Surgery in the University of Glasgow. Author of "The Principles of Christian Philosophy." Fcp. 8vo. 5s. cloth.

"We recommend this volume with sincere pleasure to our readers, as an admirable manual of devotion, and a safe companion in seasons of distress."—*ATHENÆUM*.

BUTLER.—SKETCH OF ANCIENT & MODERN GEOGRAPHY.

By SAMUEL BUTLER, D.D. late Lord Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry; and formerly Head Master of Shrewsbury School. New Edition, revised by his SON. 8vo. 9s. boards.

The present edition has been carefully revised by the author's son, and such alterations introduced as continually progressive discoveries and the latest information rendered necessary. Recent Travels have been constantly consulted where any doubt or difficulty seemed to require it; and some additional matter has been added, both in the ancient and modern part.

BUTLER.—ATLAS OF MODERN GEOGRAPHY.

By the late Dr. BUTLER. New Edition; consisting of Twenty-three coloured Maps, from a New Set of Plates; with an Index of all the Names of Places, referring to the Latitudes and Longitudes. 8vo. 12s. half-bound.

BUTLER.—ATLAS OF ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY.

By the late Dr. BUTLER. Consisting of Twenty-three coloured Maps; with an Index of all the Names of Places, referring to the Latitudes and Longitudes. New Edition. 8vo. 12s. hbd.

. The above two Atlases may be had, half-bound, in One Volume, 4to. price 24s.

CALLCOTT.—A SCRIPTURE HERBAL.

With upwards of 120 Wood Engravings. By LADY CALLCOTT. Square crown 8vo. 25s. cloth.

"The Herbal is executed in a very meritorious and interesting manner. All the vegetable productions mentioned in the Scriptures are alphabetically enumerated and described, and the texts in which they occur cited; the properties of the various plants are stated under each, and, where critical opinions differ as to their identification, compared, with the authoress's judgment on the conflicting testimony. Beautiful woodcuts illustrate all the specimens, whilst the authoress's travels have enabled her to offer many original remarks of an interesting kind. Finally, the whole is seasoned with appropriate quotations and reflections to relieve the drier points of inquiry, and blend the pleasing with the instructive, in an elegant style, than which nothing could be better adapted to the nature of the volume; and when we have added that the book is altogether AN EXCELLENT BIBLE COMPANION, we can bestow no higher praise."—*LITERARY GAZETTE*.

CATLOW.—POPULAR CONCHOLOGY ;

Or, the Shell Cabinet arranged: being an Introduction to the Modern System of Conchology: with a sketch of the Natural History of the Animals, an account of the Formation of the Shells, and a complete Descriptive List of the Families and Genera. By AGNES CATLOW. Fcp. 8vo. with 312 Woodcuts, 10s. 6d. cloth.

"This admirable little work is designed to facilitate the study of natural history, daily becoming more attractive, not only from its intrinsic interest, but also from its multiplied relations with geology. It will furnish the young entomologist with an elementary manual, which, though scientific in its form, is, by the simplicity of its method, and the familiarity of its style, calculated effectually to assist him in the early steps of his progress in this fascinating pursuit."—*ST. JAMES'S CHRONICLE*.

"A pleasant, useful, and well-illustrated volume."—*JAMESON'S EDIN. PHILOS. JOURNAL*.

CHALENOR.—POETICAL REMAINS OF MARY CHALENOR.

Fcp. 8vo. 4s. cloth.

"The poems are sweetly natural; and, though on topics often sung, breathe a tenderness and melancholy which are at once soothing and consolatory."—*LITERARY GAZETTE*.

CHALENOR.—WALTER GRAY,

A Ballad, and other Poems. 2d Edition, including the Poetical Remains of Mary Chalenor. Fcp. 8vo. 6s. cloth.

"As the simple and spontaneous effusions of a mind apparently filled with feelings which render the fireside happy, and unfringed with affectation or verbiage, they may with benefit be received into the 'happy homes of England,' and offered as a gift to the youthful of both sexes."—*CHAMBERS'S EDINBURGH JOURNAL*.

CLAVERS.—FOREST LIFE.

By MARY CLAVERS, an Actual Settler; Author of "A New Home, Who'll Follow?" 2 vols. fcp. 8vo. 12s. cloth.

COLLEGIAN'S GUIDE (THE) ;

Or, Recollections of College Days, setting forth the Advantages and Temptations of a University Education. By *****, M.A. — College, Oxford. Post 8vo. 10s. 6d. cloth.

"A volume of this kind has long been wanted. It traces amusingly the course of the student, from the first discussion that arises in his family on his going to college till his preparation for a first-class man. It details the first steps that should be taken, gives the characters of the several colleges, prescribes modes of life and courses of study; establishes intelligible beacons against the shoals and quicksands of idleness and dissipation, and debt, and draws the beam-ideal of a first-rate collegian. This knowledge is thrown into the form of actual occurrence, being the result of the writer's own experience and observation. The spirit of the book is excellent; and the book itself cannot fail to be useful. All the chapters on college life are admirably written—lively, without exaggeration; practically useful, yet very amusing; discursive and various, yet all tending to the object of elevating the collegian's character, keeping him from discreditable practices, and fitting him, by a judicious course of study, for the highest pursuits of life."—*BRITANNIA*.

COLTON.—LACON ; OR, MANY THINGS IN FEW WORDS.

By the Rev. C. C. COLTON. New Edition. 8vo. 12s. cloth.

CONVERSATIONS ON BOTANY.

9th Edition, improved. Fcp. 8vo. 22 Plates, 7s. 6d. cloth; with the plates coloured, 12s. cloth.

The object of this work is to enable children and young persons to acquire a knowledge of the vegetable productions of their native country, by introducing to them, in a familiar manner, the principles of the Linnæan System of Botany. For this purpose, the arrangement of Linneus is briefly explained; a native plant of each class, with a few exceptions, is examined, and illustrated by an engraving; a short account is added of some of the principal foreign species.

CONVERSATIONS ON MINERALOGY.

With Plates, engraved by Mr. and Mrs. Lowry, from Original Drawings. 3d Edition, enlarged. 2 vols. 12mo. 14s. cloth.

COOLEY.—THE HISTORY OF MARITIME AND INLAND DISCOVERY.

By W. D. COOLEY, Esq. 3 vols. fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Titles, 18s. cloth.

COPLAND.—A DICTIONARY OF PRACTICAL MEDICINE;

comprising General Pathology, the Nature and Treatment of Diseases, Morbid Structures, and the Disorders especially incidental to Climates, to Sex, and to the different Epochs of Life, with numerous approved Formulæ of the Medicines recommended. By JAMES COPLAND, M.D., Consulting Physician to Queen Charlotte's Lying-in Hospital; Senior Physician to the Royal Infirmary for Children; Member of the Royal College of Physicians, London; of the Medical and Chirurgical Societies of London and Berlin, &c. Vols. 1 and 2, 8vo. £3, cloth; and Part 3, 4s 6d. *** To be completed in one more volume.

CROCKER'S ELEMENTS OF LAND SURVEYING.

Fifth Edition, corrected throughout, and considerably improved and modernized, by T. G. BRUNT, Land Surveyor, Bristol. To which are added, TABLES OF SIX-FIGURE LOGARITHMS, &c., superintended by RICHARD FARLEY, of the Nautical Almanac Establishment. Post 8vo. 12s. cloth.

*. The work throughout is entirely revised, and much new matter has been added; there are new chapters, containing very full and minute Directions relating to the modern Practice of Surveying, both with and without the aid of angular instruments. The method of Plotting Estates, and Casting or Computing their Areas, are described, &c. &c. The chapter on Levelling also is new.

CROWE.—THE HISTORY OF FRANCE,

From the Earliest Period to the Abdication of Napoleon. By E. E. CROWE, Esq. 3 vols. fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Titles, 18s. cloth.

DAHLMANN.—HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION.

By F. C. DAHLMANN, late Professor of History at the University of Göttingen. Translated from the German, by H. EVANS LLOYD. 8vo. 10s. 6d. cloth.

"Professor Dahlmann's book is, in short, a rapid sketch of the whole of what we call the Modern History of England, from its start at the Coronation of Henry the Seventh, to its intermediate settlement at the Coronation of William the Third. We have no English summary of the history it relates, so brief, compendious, and impartial. M. Dahlmann is a very earnest as well as intelligent writer; and the steady advance of the popular principle in England, through an almost uninterrupted march of two centuries, is startlingly reflected in his clear and transparent relation. Mr. Lloyd's translation is very well executed."—EXAMINER.

DAVY (SIR HUMPHRY).—ELEMENTS OF AGRICULTURAL

CHEMISTRY, in a Course of Lectures. By SIR HUMPHRY DAVY. With Notes by Dr. JOHN DAVY. 6th Edition. 8vo. with 10 Plates, 15s. cloth.

CONTENTS:—Introduction—The General Powers of Matter which influence Vegetation—The Organization of Plants—Soils—Nature and Constitution of the Atmosphere, and its influence on Vegetables—Manures of Vegetable and Animal Origin—Manures of Mineral Origin, or Fossil Manures—Improvement of Lands by Burning—Experiments on the Nutritive Qualities of different Grasses, &c.

DE CUSTINE.—RUSSIA.

By the MARQUIS DE CUSTINE. Translated from the French. 2d Edition. 3 vols. post 8vo. 31s. 6d. cloth.

"We are inclined to think—and it is a painful reflection—that Mons. De Custine's remarkable volumes contain a more accurate account of the state and condition of Russia than any other work of recent date, without exception. The author has manifestly penetrated through that superficial glitter and gorgeous array which have blinded the eyes of too many travellers to the imperfections and defects of this great empire, and has shewn it as it really is. To do this in the case of Russia requires many and favourable opportunities of observation, considerable shrewdness, and a courage and determination not easily to be daunted; all which Mons. De Custine has proved himself to have possessed in an eminent degree; and the result is, a work which those who are desirous to know Russia as it really is, and not as it would fain impose itself on the world to be, would do well to consult. We promise our readers equal surprise and pleasure from the perusal of his very clever book."—GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.

DE LA BECHE.—REPORT ON THE GEOLOGY OF CORN-

WALL, DEVON, and WEST SOMERSET. By HENRY T. DE LA BECHE, F.R.S. &c., Director of the Ordnance Geological Survey. Published by Order of the Lords Commissioners of H.M. Treasury. 8vo. with Maps, Woodcuts, and 12 large Plates, 14s. cloth.

DE MORGAN.—AN ESSAY ON PROBABILITIES,

And on their Application to Life Contingencies and Insurance Offices. By AUG. DE MORGAN, of Trinity College, Cambridge. Fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Title, 6s. cloth.

DE STRZELECKI (P. E.)—THE PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION
of NEW SOUTH WALES and VAN DIEMAN'S LAND. By P. E. DE STRZELECKI. 8vo.

[In the press.]
* * This work is the result of five years' personal observations, collected during a journey of 7,000 miles on foot. The author's labours have been noticed in various Parliamentary Papers, and in the last Address of the President of the Geographical Society; they also met with the most cordial approbation of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, of their Ex. Ex. the Governors Sir George Gipps and Sir John Franklin, and of the Colonists themselves.

DOCTOR (THE), &c.

5 vols. post 8vo. £2. 12s. 6d. cloth.

"Admirably as the mystery of the 'Doctor' has been preserved up to the present moment, there is no longer any reason for affecting secrecy on the subject. The author is Robert Southey: he acknowledged the fact shortly before his last illness to his most confidential friend, an M.P. of high character. In a private letter from Mrs. Southey, dated February 27, 1843, she not only states the fact, but adds that the greater part of a sixth volume had gone through the press, and that Southey looked forward to the pleasure of drawing her into it as a contributor; giving her full authority to affirm that her husband is the author."—ROBERT BELL, Esq. in THE STORY TELLER.

DODDRIDGE.—THE FAMILY EXPOSITOR;

Or, a Paraphrase and Version of the New Testament: with Critical Notes, and a Practical Improvement of each Section. By P. DODDRIDGE, D.D. To which is prefixed, a Life of the Author, by A. KIPPIS, D.D. F.R.S. and S.A. New Edition, 4 vols. 8vo. £1. 16s. cloth.

DONOVAN.—TREATISE ON CHEMISTRY.

By M. DONOVAN, M.R.I.A. Fourth Edition. Fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Title, 6s. cloth.

DONOVAN.—A TREATISE ON DOMESTIC ECONOMY.

By M. DONOVAN, Esq. M.R.I.A. Professor of Chemistry to the Company of Apothecaries in Ireland. 2 vols. fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Titles, 12s. cloth.

DOVER.—LIFE OF FREDERICK II. KING OF PRUSSIA.

By LORD DOVER. 2d Edition. 2 vols. 8vo. with Portrait, 28s. boards.

DRUMMOND.—FIRST STEPS TO BOTANY,

intended as popular Illustrations of the Science, leading to its study as a branch of general education. By J. L. DRUMMOND, M.D. 4th Edit. 12mo. with numerous Woodcuts, 9s. bds.

DUNHAM.—THE HISTORY OF THE GERMANIC EMPIRE.

By DR. DUNHAM. 3 vols. fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Titles, 18s. cloth.

THE HISTORY OF EUROPE DURING THE MIDDLE AGES. By Dr. Dunham. 4 vols. fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Titles, £1. 4s. cloth.

THE HISTORY OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL. By Dr. Dunham. 5 vols. fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Titles, £1. 10s. cloth.

THE HISTORY OF SWEDEN, DENMARK, AND NORWAY. By Dr. Dunham. 3 vols. fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Titles, 18s. cloth.

THE HISTORY OF POLAND. By Dr. Dunham. Fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Title, 6s. cloth.

THE LIVES OF THE EARLY WRITERS OF GREAT BRITAIN. By Dr. Dunham, R. Bell, Esq. &c. Fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Title, 6s. cloth.

THE LIVES OF BRITISH DRAMATISTS. By Dr. Dunham, R. Bell, Esq. &c. 2 vols. fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Titles, 12s. cloth.

DUNLOP (JOHN).—THE HISTORY OF FICTION:

Being a Critical Account of the most celebrated Prose Works of Fiction, from the earliest Greek Romances to the Novels of the Present Age. By JOHN DUNLOP. A New Edition, in 1 vol. *[In the press.]*

ELLIOTSON.—HUMAN PHYSIOLOGY:

With which is incorporated much of the elementary part of the "Institutiones Physiologicae" of J. F. Blumenbach, Professor in the University of Göttingen. By JOHN ELLIOTSON, M.D. Cantab. F.R.S. Fifth Edition. 8vo. with numerous Woodcuts, £2. 2s. cloth.

ENGLISHMAN'S GREEK CONCORDANCE OF THE NEW

TESTAMENT: being an Attempt at a Verbal Connexion between the Greek and the English Texts; including a Concordance to the Proper Names, with Indexes, Greek-English and English-Greek. 2d Edition, carefully revised, with a new Index, Greek and English. Royal 8vo. £2. 2s. cloth.

ENGLISHMAN'S HEBREW AND CHALDEE CONCORDANCE

of the OLD TESTAMENT; being an attempt at a Verbal Connection between the Original and the English Translations: with Indexes, a List of the Proper Names and their occurrences, &c. &c. 2 vols. royal 8vo. £3. 13s. 6d. cloth; large paper, £4. 14s. 6d.

"The labour bestowed upon this important work has seldom, we should suppose, been equalled; and we have the fullest conviction, from the merely cursory examination we are able to give to such a stupendous task, that the result justifies all the labour, time, and money expended upon it. Indeed, the whole book bears the most palpable evidence of honest carefulness and unwearied diligence (the points of prime worth in a Concordance); and wherever we have dipped into its pages (about 1800), we have, in every case, had our opinion of its neatness, accuracy, and lucid order, confirmed and increased."—LITERARY GAZETTE.

FAREY.—A TREATISE ON THE STEAM ENGINE,

Historical, Practical, and Descriptive. By JOHN FAREY, Engineer. 4to. illustrated by numerous Woodcuts, and 25 Copper-plates, £5. 5s. boards.

FERGUS.—HISTORY OF UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

From the Discovery of America to the Election of General Jackson to the Presidency. By the Rev. H. FERGUS. 2 vols. fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Titles, 12s. cloth.

FIELD.—POSTHUMOUS EXTRACTS FROM THE

VETERINARY RECORDS OF THE LATE JOHN FIELD. Edited by his Brother, WILLIAM FIELD, Veterinary Surgeon, London. 8vo. 8s. boards.

FINCH (J.)—THE NATURAL BOUNDARIES OF EMPIRES :

With a new View of Colonisation. By JOHN FINCH, Esq., Corresponding Member of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, and of the Natural History Societies of Montreal, New York, New Brunswick, Delaware, West Point, &c. Fcp. 8vo. 6s. cloth.

"A work which contains much original thought, and embraces many topics, both suggestive and reflective; a little manual of political geography, that both the writer and student of history and politics may consult and profit by."

ATLAS.

FORSTER.—THE STATESMEN OF THE COMMONWEALTH

OF ENGLAND. With an Introductory Treatise on the Popular Progress in English History. By JOHN FORSTER, Esq. 5 vols. fcp. 8vo. with Original Portraits of Pym, Eliot, Hampden, Cromwell, and an Historical Scene after a Picture by Cattermole, £1. 10s. cloth.

The Introductory Treatise, intended as an Introduction to the Study of the Great Civil War in the Seventeenth Century, separately, 2s. 6d. sewed.

The above 5 vols. form Mr. Forster's portion of the Lives of Eminent British Statesmen, by Sir James Mackintosh, the Right Hon. T. P. Courtenay, and John Forster, Esq. 7 vols. fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Titles, £2. 2s. cloth.

FOSBROKE.—A TREATISE ON THE ARTS, MANNERS,

MANUFACTURES, and INSTITUTIONS of the GREEKS and ROMANS. By the Rev. T. D. FOSBROKE, &c. 2 vols. fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Titles, 12s. cloth.

GLEIG.—LIVES OF MOST EMINENT BRITISH MILITARY

COMMANDERS. By the Rev. G. R. GLEIG. 3 vols. fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Titles, 18s. cloth.

GLENDINNING.—PRACTICAL HINTS ON THE CULTURE

OF THE PINE APPLE. By R. GLENDINNING, Gardener to the Right Hon. Lord Rolie, Bicton. 12mo. with Plan of a Pinery, 5s. cloth.

GOLDSMITH'S (OLIVER) POETICAL WORKS.

Illustrated with Engravings on Wood, from Designs by the Members of the Etching Club. Square crown 8vo. uniform with "Thomson's Seasons," 21s. cloth; bound in morocco, by Hay day, £1. 16s. [Just ready.]

GOOD.—THE BOOK OF NATURE.

A Popular Illustration of the General Laws and Phenomena of Creation. By JOHN MASON Good, M.D. F.R.S., &c. Third Edition, corrected. 3 vols. fcp. 8vo. 24s. cloth.

GRAHAM.—ENGLISH; OR, THE ART OF COMPOSITION

explained in a Series of Instructions and Examples. By G. F. GRAHAM. Second Edition, revised and improved. Fcp. 8vo. 7s. cloth.

GRANT (MRS. OF LAGGAN).—MEMOIR AND CORRE-

SPONDENCE of the late Mrs. Grant, of Laggan, Author of "Letters from the Mountains," "Memoirs of an American Lady," &c. &c. Edited by her Son, J. P. GRANT, Esq. 3 vols. post 8vo. with Portrait, 31s. 6d. cloth.

"Apart from their literary merit, Mrs. Grant's letters have a value of no inconsiderable kind in the piety and devout fortitude they inculcate by example."—EXAMINER.

"Abounds in anecdotes of many celebrated persons, well told, novel, and full of interest."—COURT JOURNAL.

"Mrs. Grant's letters are the calm, healthy effusions of a mind replete with good sense, tinged by poetic sentiment, and of a soul entirely devoted to the consolations and hopes of Christian life."—BRITANNIA.

GRATTAN.—THE HISTORY OF THE NETHERLANDS,

From the Invasion by the Romans to the Belgian Revolution in 1830. By T. C. GRATTAN, Esq. Fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Title, 6s. cloth.

GRAY.—FIGURES OF MOLLUSCOUS ANIMALS,

Selected from various Authors. Etched for the Use of Students. By MARIA EMMA GRAY. Vol. I. 8vo. with 78 plates of Figures, 12s. cloth.

GRAY AND MITCHELL'S ORNITHOLOGY.—THE GENERA

Of BIRDS; comprising their Generic Characters, a Notice of the Habits of each Genus, and an extensive List of Species, referred to their several Genera. By **GEORGE ROBERT GRAY**, Acad. Imp. Georg. Florent. Soc. Corresp. Senior Assistant of the Zoological Department, British Museum; and Author of the "List of the Genæ of Birds," &c. &c. Illustrated with Three Hundred and Fifty imperial quarto Plates, by **DAVID WILLIAM MITCHELL**.

In course of publication, in Monthly Parts, 10s. 6d. each; each Part consisting generally of Four imperial quarto coloured Plates and Three plain, and accompanying Letterpress; giving the Generic Characters, short Remarks on the Habits, and a List of Species of each Genus as complete as possible. The uncoloured Plates contain the Characters of all the Genera of the various Sub-families, consisting of numerous details of Heads, Wings, and Feet, as the case may require, for pointing out their distinguishing Characters.

* * * The work will not exceed Fifty Monthly Parts.

No. 9 was published Jan. 1st.

GREENER.—THE GUN;

Or, a Treatise on the various Descriptions of Small Fire-Arms. By **W. GREENER**, Inventor of an improved method of Firing Cannon by Percussion, &c. 8vo. with Illustrations, 15s. boards.

GREENER.—THE SCIENCE OF GUNNERY,

As applied to the Use and Construction of Fire Arms. By **WILLIAM GREENER**, Author of "The Gun," &c. With numerous Plates, 15s. cloth.

GREENWOOD (COL.)—THE TREE-LIFTER;

Or, a New Method of Transplanting Trees. By **Col. GEO. GREENWOOD**. 8vo. with an Illustrative Plate, 7s. cloth.

GUEST.—THE MABINOGION,

From the Llyfr Coch o Hergest, or Red Book of Hergest, and other ancient Welsh MSS.: with an English Translation and Notes. By **Lady CHARLOTTE GUEST**. Parts 1 to 5. Royal 8vo. 8s. each.

Part 1. The Lady of the Fountain.

Part 2. Peredur Ab Eyrwac; a Tale of Chivalry.

Part 3. The Arthurian Romance of Geraint, the Son of Erbin.

Part 4. The Romance of Kilhwch and Olwen.

Part 5. The Dream of Rhonabwy, and the Tale of Pwyll Prince of Dyved.

GWILT.—AN ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF ARCHITECTURE;

Historical, Theoretical, and Practical. By **JOSEPH GWILT**, Esq. F.S.A. Illustrated with upwards of 1000 Engravings on Wood, from Designs by **J. S. GWILT**. 1 thick vol. 8vo. containing nearly 1300 closely-printed pages, £2. 12s. 6d. cloth.

"Gwilt's Encyclopedia ranks high as a work for professional students, containing the mathematics of architecture, with copious details upon all the technicalities of the science. It is a work which no professed architect or builder should be without."—**WESTMINSTER REVIEW**.

HALL.—NEW GENERAL LARGE LIBRARY ATLAS OF

FIFTY-THREE MAPS, on Colombier Paper; with the Divisions and Boundaries carefully coloured. Constructed entirely from New Drawings, and engraved by **SIDNEY HALL**. New Edition, thoroughly revised and corrected; including all the Alterations rendered necessary by the recent Official Surveys, the New Roads on the Continent, and a careful Comparison with the authenticated Discoveries published in the latest Voyages and Travels. Folded in half, Nine Guineas, half-bound in russia; full size of the Maps, Ten Pounds, half-bd. russia.

The following Maps have been re-engraved, from entirely new designs—**Ireland**, **South Africa**, **Turkey in Asia**; the following have been materially improved—**Switzerland**, **North Italy**, **South Italy**, **Egypt**, **Central Germany**, **Southern Germany**, **Greece**, **Austria**, **Spain** and **Portugal**; a new map of **China**, corrected from the recent government survey of the coast from **Canton** to **Nankin** (to which is appended, the Province of **Canton**, on an enlarged scale, in a separate compartment), has since been added.

HALSTED.—LIFE AND TIMES OF RICHARD THE THIRD,

as Duke of Gloucester and King of England: in which all the Charges against him are carefully investigated and compared with the Statements of the Coteremporary Authorities. By **CAROLINE A. HALSTED**, Author of "The Life of Margaret Beaufort, Mother of King Henry VII." and "Obligations of Literature to the Mothers of England." 2 vols. 8vo. with a Portrait from an Original Picture in the possession of the Right Hon. Lord Stafford, never before engraved, and other illustrations, £1. 10s. cloth.

"We consider Miss Halsted's work as one of the most interesting and able pieces of history which has ever been presented to the world. The research which it manifests is most extensive; the arrangement clear and lucid; the style always animated and picturesque. Many new lights are thrown on the career of Richard, many new facts elicited, and the injustice of four centuries vindicated by this intrepid and indefatigable champion of historical truth."—**METROPOLITAN MAGAZINE**.

HANNAM.—THE ECONOMY OF WASTE MANURES:

a Treatise on the Nature and Use of Neglected Fertilizers. By **JOHN HANNAM**. Written for the Yorkshire Agricultural Society, and published by permission of the Council. Fcp. 8vo. 3s. 6d. cloth.

"We consider this an invaluable treatise. It must prove of incalculable benefit to that class to whom it is chiefly addressed. By the general reader it will likewise be perused with no common interest. It is a lucid, practical demonstration from beginning to end. The writer is not only entirely master of his subject, but he has unfolded it in the most scientific, and, we would add, logical manner. He has displayed so marked a precision in his exposition, that the dullest capacity may at once comprehend his meaning and the drift of his argument."—**ATLAS**.

HAND-BOOK OF TASTE ;

Or, How to Observe Works of Art, especially Cartoons, Pictures, and Statues. By FABIVS PICTOR. Second Edition. Fcp. 8vo. 3s. boards.

HANSARD.—TROUT AND SALMON FISHING IN WALES.

By G. A. HANSARD. 12mo. 6s. 6d. cloth.

HARRIS.—THE HIGHLANDS OF ÆTHIOPIA ;

Being the Account of Eighteen Months' Residence of a British Embassy to the Christian Court of Shoa. By Major Sir W. C. HARRIS, Author of "Wild Sports in Southern Africa," &c. 2d Edition. 3 vols. 8vo. with Map and Illustrations, £2. 2s. cloth.

"Sir William Harris has produced a work of extraordinary interest and value; a narrative which will take a permanent place in the library, as the best authority ever yet given to the world on all the subjects to which it relates. It has, moreover, for present readers, the charm of perfect freshness and novelty. The writer's inquiries extend to the minutest particulars of the habits, manners, customs, political and social economy of the people, among whom he was a welcomed visitor. He makes research into their history, sketches the geography, natural history, and botany of the country, and, in brief, leaves no subject unexplored that could add to the completeness of the picture he has undertaken to paint; and most vividly does his graphic touch summon before the mind's eye of his readers the scenes he has witnessed."—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL REVIEW.

HAWES.—TALES OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS,

And Adventures of the Early Settlers in America; from the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, in 1620, to the Time of the Declaration of Independence. By BARBARA HAWES. Fcp. 8vo. with Frontispiece, 6s. cloth.

"We cannot say anything of this entertaining collection more descriptive or appropriate than that it forms an admirable introduction to Catlin's book. It is impossible to overestimate the importance to this country of carefully instructing its youth in the history and character of the natives of its colonies and settlements."—ATLAS.

HAWKER.—INSTRUCTIONS TO YOUNG SPORTSMEN

In all that relates to Guns and Shooting. By Lieut.-Col. P. HAWKER. 9th Edit. corrected, enlarged, and improved, with Eighty-five Plates and Woodcuts by Adlard and Branston, from Drawings by C. Varley, Dicke, &c. 8vo. £1. 1s. cloth.

"We have so often spoken favourably of preceding editions of this popular work, that we need only notice the opportune publication of the NINTH, which has just made its appearance, and which brings every branch of sporting, in relation to the field and gun, down to the present time; giving interesting notes of whatever has been done in the way of change and improvement."—LITERARY GAZETTE.

HENSLOW.—THE PRINCIPLES OF DESCRIPTIVE AND

PHYSIOLOGICAL BOTANY. By J. S. HENSLOW, M.A. F.L.S. &c. Fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Title, and nearly 70 Woodcuts, 6s. cloth.

HAYDON.—LECTURES ON PAINTING AND DESIGN :

Delivered at the London Institution, the Royal Institution, Albemarle Street, to the University of Oxford, &c. By B. R. HAYDON, Historical Painter. With Designs drawn on Wood by the Author, and engraved by Edward Evans. 8vo. 12s. cloth.

"There are few sections of Mr. Haydon's work from which we might not extract some sound and effective passage; but we prefer to commend his volume to all who take an interest in its subject, with the assurance that it will repay their study of it."—QUARTERLY REVIEW, No. 149.

HERSCHEL.—A TREATISE ON ASTRONOMY.

By Sir JOHN HERSCHEL. New Edition. Fcp. 8vo. Vignette Title, 6s. cloth.

HERSCHEL.—A PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE ON THE

STUDY OF NATURAL PHILOSOPHY. By Sir JOHN HERSCHEL. New Edition. Fcp. 8vo. with vignette title, 6s. cloth.

HINTS ON ETIQUETTE AND THE USAGES OF SOCIETY :

With a Glance at Bad Habits. By *Αγαγίς*. "Manners make the man." 24th Edition, revised (with additions) by a Lady of Rank. Fcp. 8vo. 2s. 6d. cloth, gilt edges.

General Observations; Introductions—Letters of Introduction—Marriage—Dinners—Smoking; Snuff—Fashion—Dress—Music—Dancing—Conversation—Advice to Tradespeople—Visiting; Visiting Cards—Cards—Tattling—Of General Society.

HINTS ON LIFE ;

Or, How to Rise in Society. By C. B. C. AMICUS. Fcp. 8vo. with Frontispiece by John Leech, 5s. cloth.

"This is a book which will do good to persons of any class who read it attentively with a desire to take good advice."—LITERARY GAZETTE.

HOARE.—A DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF A NEW METHOD

of PLANTING and MANAGING the ROOTS of GRAPE VINES. By CLEMENT HOARE, Author of "A Treatise on the Cultivation of the Grape Vine on Open Walls." 12mo. 5s. cloth.

HOARE.—A PRACTICAL TREATISE ON THE CULTIVATION

OF THE GRAPE VINE ON OPEN WALLS. By CLEMENT HOARE. 3d Edition. 8vo. 7s. 6d. cloth.

HOBBS.—ENGLISH WORKS OF THOMAS HOBBS,

Of Malmesbury; now first collected by Sir WILLIAM MOLESWORTH, Bart. Vol. 10, containing the Translation of Homer's Iliad and Odyssey. 8vo. 10s. cloth; to non-subscribers, 12s.

Nine preceding Volumes have been published of the English and Latin Works. Vols. 8 and 9, recently published, comprise the Translation of Thucydides.

HOLLAND.—PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION;

Or, Considerations on the Course of Life. Translated from the French of Madame Necker de Saussure. By Miss HOLLAND. 3 vols. fcp. 8vo. 19s. 6d. cloth.

. The Third Volume, forming an appropriate conclusion to the first two, separately, 7s. 6d.

HOLLAND.—A TREATISE ON THE MANUFACTURES IN METAL. By J. HOLLAND, Esq. 3 vols. fcp. Vignette Titles, about 300 Woodcuts, 18s. cloth.**HOLLAND.—MEDICAL NOTES AND REFLECTIONS.**

By HENRY HOLLAND, M.D. F.R.S. &c. Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, Physician Extraordinary to the Queen, and Physician in Ordinary to His Royal Highness Prince Albert. 2d Edition. 8vo. 18s. cloth.

HOOKE.—THE BRITISH FLORA,

In Two Vols. Vol. 1; comprising Phænogamous or Flowering Plants, and the Ferns. By Sir WILLIAM JACKSON HOOKE, K.H. LL.D. F.R.A. and L.S. &c. &c. Fifth Edition, with Additions and Corrections; and 173 Figures illustrative of the Umbelliferous Plants, the Composite Plants, the Grasses, and the Ferns. 8vo. with 12 Plates, 14s. plain; with the plates coloured, 24s. cloth.

Vol. 2, in Two Parts, comprising the Cryptogamia and Fungi, completing the British Flora, and forming Vol. 5, Parts 1 and 2, of Smith's English Flora, 24s. boards.

HOOKE AND TAYLOR.—MUSCOLOGIA BRITANNICA.

Containing the Mosses of Great Britain and Ireland, systematically arranged and described; with Plates, illustrative of the character of the Genera and Species. By Sir W. J. HOOKE and T. TAYLOR, M.D. F.L.S., &c. 2d Edition, 8vo. enlarged, 31s. 6d. plain; £3. 3s. coloured.

HORSLEY (BISHOP).—BIBLICAL CRITICISM

On the first Fourteen Historical Books of the Old Testament; and on the first Nine Prophetical Books. By SAMUEL HORSLEY, LL.D. F.R.S. F.S.A. Lord Bishop of St. Asaph. 2d Edition, containing Translations by the Author never before published, together with copious Indices. 2 vols. 8vo. £1. 10s. cloth.

HOWITT (MARY).—THE CHILD'S PICTURE AND VERSE

BOOK, commonly called "Otto Specker's Fable Book." Translated by MARY HOWITT: With French and German on corresponding pages, and illustrated with 100 Engravings on Wood by G. F. Sargent. 2d Edition. Square 12mo. 7s. 6d. boards.

"Otto Specker's illustrations are well calculated to please children: some by their truth, others by their humour. The verses, too, are in a kindly spirit—some sly, some chiming in those coral-and-bells measures which ought never to be out of the ear of such as write for the very young. Mrs. Howitt has, in naturalizing this book, done a good deed with a good grace."—*ATHENÆUM*.

HOWITT (MARY).—THE H—— FAMILY: TRALINNAN;

AXEL and ANNA; and other Tales. By FREDRIKA BREMER. Translated by MARY HOWITT. 2 vols. post 8vo. with Portrait of the Author, 21s. boards.

THE NEIGHBOURS.

A Story of Every-day Life in Sweden. By FREDRIKA BREMER. Translated by MARY HOWITT. 3d Edition, revised and corrected. 2 vols. post 8vo. 18s. boards.

THE HOME.

Or, Family Cares and Family Joys. By FREDRIKA BREMER. Translated by MARY HOWITT. 2d Edition, revised and corrected. 2 vols. post 8vo. 21s. boards.

THE PRESIDENT'S DAUGHTERS.

Including NINA. By FREDRIKA BREMER. Translated by MARY HOWITT. 3 vols. post 8vo. 31s. 6d. boards.

A NEW SKETCH OF EVERY-DAY LIFE:—

A DIARY. Together with STRIFE and PEACE. By FREDRIKA BREMER. Translated by MARY HOWITT. 2 vols. post 8vo. 21s. boards.

HOWITT.—THE RURAL LIFE OF ENGLAND.

By WILLIAM HOWITT. 3d Edition, corrected and revised. Medium 8vo. with Engravings on wood, by Bewick and Williams, uniform with "Visits to Remarkable Places," 21s. cloth.

Life of the Aristocracy.**Life of the Agricultural Population.****Picturesque and Moral Features of the Country.****Strong Attachment of the English to Country Life.****The Forests of England.**

Habits, Amusements, and Condition of the People; in which are introduced Two New Chapters, descriptive of the Rural Watering Places, and Education of the Rural Population.

HOWITT.—GERMAN EXPERIENCES :

Addressed to the English, both Goers Abroad and Stayers at Home. By WILLIAM HOWITT. Fcp. 8vo. 7s. 6d. cloth.

HOWITT.—VISITS TO REMARKABLE PLACES :

Old Halls, Battle-Fields, and Scenes illustrative of Striking Passages in English History and Poetry. By WILLIAM HOWITT. New Edition. Medium 8vo. with 40 Illustrations by S. Williams, 21s. cloth.

SECOND SERIES, chiefly in the Counties of DURHAM and NORTHUMBERLAND, with a Stroll along the BORDER. Medium 8vo. with upwards of 40 highly-finished Woodcuts, from Drawings made on the spot for this work, by Messrs. Carmichael, Richardsons, and Weld Taylor, 21s. cloth.

HOWITT.—THE LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF JACK OF

THE MILL, commonly called "Lord Othmill;" created, for his eminent services, Baron Waldeck, and Knight of Kitticotie; a Fireside Story. By WILLIAM HOWITT. 2d Edition, 2 vols. fcp. 8vo. with 46 Illustrations on Wood by G. F. Sargent, 12s. cloth.

HOWITT.—THE RURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE OF GERMANY :

With Characteristic Sketches of its Chief Cities and Scenery. Collected in a General Tour, and during a Residence in that Country in the Years 1840-42. By WILLIAM HOWITT, Author of "The Rural Life of England," &c. Med. 8vo. with above 50 Illustrations, 21s. cloth.

HOWITT.—WANDERINGS OF A JOURNEYMAN TAILOR,

through EUROPE and the EAST, during the years 1824 to 1840. By P. D. HOLTHAUS, from Werdohl, in Westphalia. Translated from the Third German Edition, by WILLIAM HOWITT, Author of "The Rural and Social Life of Germany," &c. Fcp. 8vo. with Portrait of the Tailor, 6s. cloth.

HOWITT.—THE STUDENT-LIFE OF GERMANY.

From the Unpublished MSS. of Dr. Cornelius. By WILLIAM HOWITT. 8vo. with 24 Wood-Engravings, and Seven Steel Plates, 21s. cloth.

"German student-life has, of course, its brighter side and pleasanter traits. Its generous friendships, its buoyant spirits, its noble songs, its intense study, at the last may well compensate for many of its darker features. In this volume there is no want of material to form a very sufficient notion of German student-life."—*QUARTERLY REVIEW*.

HOWITT.—COLONISATION AND CHRISTIANITY :

A Popular History of the Treatment of the Natives, in all their Colonies, by the Europeans. By WILLIAM HOWITT. Post 8vo. 10s. 6d. cloth.

HOWITT.—THE BOY'S COUNTRY BOOK :

Being the real Life of a Country Boy, written by himself; exhibiting all the Amusements, Pleasures, and Pursuits of Children in the Country. Edited by WILLIAM HOWITT, Author of "The Rural Life of England," &c. 2d Edition. Fcp. 8vo. with 40 Woodcuts, 8s. cloth.

"A capital work; and, we are inclined to think, Howitt's best in any line."—*QUARTERLY REVIEW*.

HUDSON.—PLAIN DIRECTIONS FOR MAKING WILLS

In Conformity with the Law, and particularly with reference to the Act 7 Will. 4 and 1 Vict. c. 26. To which is added, a clear Exposition of the Law relating to the distribution of Personal Estate in the case of Intestacy; with two Forms of Wills, and much useful information, &c. By J. C. HUDSON, Esq. 13th Edition, corrected, with notes of cases judicially decided since the above Act came into operation. Fcp. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

HUDSON.—THE EXECUTOR'S GUIDE.

By J. C. HUDSON, Esq. of the Legacy Duty Office, London; Author of "Plain Directions for Making Wills," and "The Parent's Hand-book." Fourth Edition. Fcp. 8vo. 5s. cloth.

. These two works may be had in one volume, 7s. cloth.

HUDSON.—THE PARENT'S HAND-BOOK ;

Or, Guide to the Choice of Professions, Employments, and Situations; containing useful and practical Information on the subject of placing out Young Men, and of obtaining their Education with a view to particular occupations. By J. C. HUDSON, Esq. Author of "Plain Directions for Making Wills." Fcp. 8vo. 5s. cloth.

HUNT.—RESEARCHES ON LIGHT :

An Examination of all the Phenomena connected with the Chemical and Molecular Changes produced by the Influence of the Solar Rays, embracing all the known Photographic Processes, and new Discoveries in the Art. By ROBERT HUNT, Secretary of the Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society. 8vo. with Plate and Woodcuts, 10s. 6d. cloth.

"Mr. Hunt's reputation is so well established, that we need only mention his pleasing volume to secure it a favourable reception from the philosophical public."—*JAMESON'S NEW EDINBURGH PHILOSOPHICAL JOURNAL*.

HUMPHREYS.—THE ILLUMINATED BOOKS OF THE

MIDDLE AGES.—A History of Illuminated Books, from the IVth to the XVIIth Century. By HENRY NOEL HUMPHREYS. Illustrated by a Series of Specimens, consisting of an entire Page, of the exact Size of the Original, from the most celebrated and splendid MSS. in the Imperial and Royal Libraries of Vienna, Moscow, Paris, Naples, Copenhagen, and Madrid;—from the Vatican, Escorial, Ambrosian, and other great Libraries of the Continent;—and from the rich Public, Collegiate, and Private Libraries of Great Britain; superbly printed in Gold, Silver, and Colours.

In course of publication, in Parts, each containing Three Plates, with Descriptions, Imperial Quarto (15 in. by 11), splendidly printed, in gold, silver, and colours, in imitation of the originals, as accurate as can be produced by mechanical means, 12s.; **LARGE PAPER**, on Half Imperial (21½ in. by 15), to prevent folding the large Plates, 21s. Six Parts to form a Volume, Four Volumes completing the work.

PLATES CONTAINED IN THE FIRST PART.

1. Page from a large and beautiful MS. executed for Edward IV. containing Portraits of himself, and his brothers Gloucester and Clarence.
2. Page from a rich MS. of the Orations of Demosthenes, made for one of the Farnesi.
3. A remarkable Frontispiece, of great beauty, from a Venetian Diploma.

"We have seen some specimens of a proposed work by Mr. Humphreys, on Illuminated MSS. which have surprised us by the accuracy of their execution, and the effect produced by merely mechanical means."—**QUARTERLY REVIEW.**

ILLUMINATED CALENDAR (THE).—THE ILLUMINATED

CALENDAR and HOME DIARY for 1845; copied from the Manuscript of the Hours of Anne of Brittany, arranged as an Almanack and Diary. Enriched with Twelve large Designs, one appropriate to each Month, illustrative of Manners and Customs of the Fifteenth Century, with a Titlepage, ornamented with Fruits on a Gold Ground: the whole copied from the Kalendar in "The Hours of Anne of Brittany," carefully coloured by hand, and enriched with Gold; also, Twenty-four Ornamental Borders, composed of Natural Flowers, from the same MSS. The Borders printed in Gold and Colours, by Owen Jones. Imperial 8vo. 42s. bound in an appropriate ornamental cover.

"This work, which rivals in gorgeousness the illuminated missals, is beyond all comparison the most splendid that has issued from the press of this country; possessing, in addition, the value of being the exact fac-simile of a rare gem of antiquity."—**JOHN BULL.**

JACKSON.—PICTORIAL FLORA;

Or, British Botany delineated, in 1500 Lithographic Drawings of all the Species of Flowering Plants indigenous to Great Britain; illustrating the descriptive works on English Botany of Hooker, Lindley, Smith, &c. By Miss JACKSON. 8vo. 15s. cloth.

JAMES.—LIVES OF MOST EMINENT FOREIGN STATESMEN.

By G. P. R. JAMES, Esq., and E. E. CROWE, Esq. 5 vols. fcp. 8vo. Vignette Titles, 30s. cloth.

JAMES.—A HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF EDWARD THE

BLACK PRINCE, and of various Events connected therewith, which occurred during the Reign of Edward III. King of England. By G. P. R. JAMES, Esq. 2d Edition. 2 vols. fcp. 8vo. Map, 15s. cloth.

JEFFREY.—CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE EDINBURGH

REVIEW. By FRANCIS JEFFREY, now one of the Judges of the Court of Session in Scotland. 4 vols. 8vo. 48s. cloth.

JOHNSON.—THE FARMER'S ENCYCLOPÆDIA,

And Dictionary of Rural Affairs: embracing all the recent Discoveries in Agricultural Chemistry; adapted to the comprehension of unscientific readers. By CUTHBERT W. JOHNSON, Esq. F.R.S. Barrister-at-Law, Corresponding Member of the Agricultural Society of Königsberg, and of the Maryland Horticultural Society; Author of several of the Prize Essays of the Royal Agricultural Society of England, and other Agricultural Works; Editor of the "Farmer's Almanack," &c. 1 thick vol. 8vo. illustrated by Wood Engravings of the best and most improved Agricultural Implements, £2. 10s. cloth.

* Cuthbert Johnson's 'Farmer's Encyclopædia' is one of the best books of its class."

Dr. Lindley, in **THE GARDENER'S CHRONICLE.**

KANE.—ELEMENTS OF CHEMISTRY;

Including the most Recent Discoveries and Applications of the Science to Medicine and Pharmacy, and to the Arts. By ROBERT KANE, M.D. M.R.I.A., Professor of Natural Philosophy to the Royal Dublin Society. 8vo. with 236 Woodcuts, 24s. cloth.

KANE.—THE INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES OF IRELAND.

By ROBERT KANE, M.D. Secretary to the Council of the Royal Irish Academy, Professor of Natural Philosophy to the Royal Dublin Society, and of Chemistry to the Apothecaries' Hall of Ireland. Post 8vo. 7s. cloth.

"We have been much struck by a work recently published, by Professor Kane, on the 'Industrial Resources of Ireland.' The volume contains a masterly view of the physical materials upon which Irish industry might work. The fuel, the water-power, the minerals, the composition and capabilities of the soil, the nature and locality of manures, and the means of internal communication existing in the country, are successively taken up, analysed, and laid before the reader, in their scientific as well as in their practical bearings. Nothing can leave a stronger impression of the mismanagement from which Ireland has suffered than Dr. Kane's clear and business-like statement of the elements of wealth and power which have so long lain almost idle in her possession."—**MORNING CHRONICLE.**

KATER AND LARDNER.—A TREATISE ON MECHANICS.

By Captain KATER and Dr. LARDNER. New Edition. Fcp. 8vo. Vignette Title, and 19 Plates, comprising 224 distinct figures, 6s. cloth.

KEIGHTLEY.—OUTLINES OF HISTORY,

From the Earliest Period. By THOMAS KEIGHTLEY, Esq. New Edition, corrected and considerably improved. Fcp. 8vo. 6s. cloth; or 6s. 6d. bound.

KIRBY & SPENCE.—AN INTRODUCTION TO ENTOMOLOGY;

Or, Elements of the Natural History of Insects: comprising an account of noxious and useful Insects, of their Metamorphoses, Food, Stratagems, Habitations, Societies, Motions, Noises, Hybernation, Instinct, &c. By W. KIRBY, M.A. F.R.S. & L.S. Rector of Barham; and W. SPENCE, Esq. F.R.S. & L.S. 6th Edit. corrected and much enlarged. 2 vols. 8vo. 31s. 6d. cloth.

The first two volumes of the "Introduction to Entomology" are published as a separate work, distinct from the third and fourth volumes, and, though much enlarged, at a considerable reduction of price, in order that the numerous class of readers who confine their study of insects to that of their manners and economy, need not be burthened with the cost of the technical portion of the work, relating to their anatomy, physiology, &c.

KNAPP.—GRAMINA BRITANNICA;

Or, Representations of the British Grasses: with Remarks and occasional Descriptions. By I. L. KNAPP, Esq. F.L.S. & A.S. 2d Edition. 4to. with 118 Plates, beautifully coloured, £3. 16s. boards.

"Most of the persons interested in the art of distinguishing grasses are country-gentlemen and farmers, who know nothing of botany, and cannot use the technical descriptions or analytical figures of botanists. To that great class such a book is invaluable. It ought, in fact, to form part of the library of every one interested in rural affairs; for there are few plants so difficult to distinguish as grasses, not any more so, and none which it is more important to know correctly, because of their various uses and qualities. With Mr. Knapp's book before him, no one can have the least difficulty in making himself master of the subject."—GARDENERS' CHRONICLE.

LAING.—THE CHRONICLE OF THE KINGS OF NORWAY,

From the Earliest Period of the History of the Northern Sea Kings to the Middle of the Twelfth Century, commonly called *The Heimskringla*. Translated from the Icelandic of Snorro Sturleson, with Notes, and a Preliminary Discourse, by SAMUEL LAING, Author of "Notes of a Traveller," &c. 3 vols. 8vo. 36s. cloth.

"To the antiquarian, and the historical or critical student, the use of Mr. Laing's *HEIMSKRINGLA* is obvious; nor can any private collection, pretending to the character of a library, be complete without it."—SPECTATOR.

"We have been rather profuse in our extracts from this curious and most characteristic old history. But it is long since we have met with a work so spirited, and so amusing, and at the same time affording such valuable information respecting a race to whom we are so largely indebted, as this venerable Chronicle of Snorro Sturleson."—
ECCLECTIC REVIEW.

LAING.—JOURNAL OF A RESIDENCE IN NORWAY,

During the years 1834, 1835, and 1836; made with a view to inquire into the Rural and Political Economy of that Country, and the Condition of its Inhabitants. By SAMUEL LAING, Esq. 2d Edition. 8vo. 14s. cloth.

LAING.—NOTES OF A TRAVELLER,

On the Social and Political State of France, Prussia, Switzerland, Italy, and other parts of Europe, during the present century. By SAMUEL LAING, Esq. 2d Edition. 8vo. 16s. cloth.

LAING.—A TOUR IN SWEDEN,

In 1838; comprising observations on the Moral, Political, and Economical State of the Swedish Nation. By SAMUEL LAING, Esq. 8vo. 12s. cloth.

LARDNER'S CABINET CYCLOPÆDIA;

Comprising a Series of Original Works on History, Biography, Literature, the Sciences, Arts, and Manufactures. Conducted and edited by Dr. LARDNER.

The Series, complete, in One Hundred and Thirty-three Volumes, £39. 18s. (One volume only remains to be published.) The works, separate, 6s. per volume.

"In the completeness of its treatises, the Cabinet Cyclopædia is unrivalled; and now that the whole plan is carried out, it exhibits an extensive body of available knowledge such as this or no other country has ever yet presented in a popular and convenient form."—BRITANNIA.

LARDNER AND WALKER.—A TREATISE ON ELECTRICITY,

MAGNETISM, and METEOROLOGY. By D. LARDNER, LL.D. F.R.S., and C. V. WALKER, Secretary of the Electrical Society. 2 vols. fcp. 8vo. 12s.

LARDNER.—A TREATISE ON HEAT.

By D. LARDNER, LL.D., &c. Fcp. 8vo. with Woodcuts and Vignette Title, 6s. cloth.

LARDNER.—A TREATISE ON HYDROSTATICS AND PNEU-

MATICS. By Dr. LARDNER. New Edition. Fcp. 8vo. 6s. cloth.

LARDNER.—A TREATISE ON ARITHMETIC.

By D. LARDNER, LL.D. F.R.S. Fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Title, 6s. cloth.

LARDNER.—A TREATISE ON GEOMETRY,

And its Application to the Arts. By Dr. LARDNER. Fcp. 8vo. Vignette Title, and upwards of 200 figures, 6s. cloth.

LECTURES ON POLARISED LIGHT,

Delivered before the Pharmaceutical Society, and in the Medical School of the London Hospital. 8vo. illustrated by above 50 Woodcuts, 5s. 6d. cloth.

L. E. L.—THE POETICAL WORKS OF LETITIA ELIZABETH

LONDON. New Edition, 4 vols. fcp. 8vo. with Illustrations by Howard, &c. 28s. cloth lettered; or handsomely bound in morocco, with gilt edges, £2. 4s.

The following Works separately:—

THE IMPROVISATRICE. Fcp. 10s. 6d. cloth. The GOLDEN VIOLET. Fcp. 8vo. 10s. 6d. cloth.

THE VENETIAN BRACELET. 10s. 6d. cloth. The TROUBADOUR. Fcp. 8vo. 10s. 6d. cloth.

LEE.—TAXIDERMY;

Or, the Art of Collecting, Preparing, and Mounting Objects of Natural History. For the use of Museums and Travellers. By Mrs. R. LEE (formerly Mrs. T. E. Bowdich), Author of "Memoirs of Cuvier," &c. 6th Edition, improved, with an account of a Visit to Walton Hall, and Mr. Waterton's method of Preserving Animals. Fcp. 8vo. with Wood Engravings, 7s. cloth.

LEE.—ELEMENTS OF NATURAL HISTORY,

For the use of Schools and Young Persons: comprising the Principles of Classification, interspersed with amusing and instructive original Accounts of the most remarkable Animals. By Mrs. R. LEE (formerly Mrs. T. E. BOWDICH), Author of "Taxidermy," "Memoirs of Cuvier," &c. 12mo. with Fifty-five Woodcuts, 7s. 6d. bound.

LEFEVRE (SIR G.)—AN APOLOGY FOR THE NERVES;

Or, their Importance and Influence in Health and Disease. By Sir GEORGE LEFEVRE, M.D. Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians; late Physician to the British Embassy at the Court of St. Petersburg, &c.; Author of "The Life of a Travelling Physician," "Thermal Comfort," &c. Post 8vo. 9s. cloth.

"Sir George Lefevre's 'Apology' is one of those at once learned, gossiping, and clever works, which the profession, and many out of it, especially those who have lived long enough to sympathise with, and enjoy the author's peculiarities, will delight to peruse, without deriving from it habits of superficial examination or of dogmatical dictation." LITERARY GAZETTE.

LIFE OF A TRAVELLING PHYSICIAN,

From his first Introduction to Practice; including 20 Years' Wanderings throughout the greater part of Europe. 3 vols. post 8vo. 3 coloured Plates, 31s. 6d. cloth.

LINDLEY.—INTRODUCTION TO BOTANY.

By Prof. J. LINDLEY, Ph.D. F.R.S. L.S. &c. 3d Edition with Corrections and considerable Additions. 8vo. with Six Plates and numerous Woodcuts, 18s. cloth.

LINDLEY.—FLORA MEDICA;

A Botanical Account of all the most important Plants used in Medicine, in different Parts of the World. By JOHN LINDLEY, Ph.D., F.R.S., &c. 8vo. 18s. cloth.

LINDLEY.—A SYNOPSIS OF THE BRITISH FLORA,

Arranged according to the Natural Orders. By Professor JOHN LINDLEY, Ph.D., F.R.S., &c. 3d Edition, with numerous additions, corrections, and improvements, 12mo. 10s. 6d. cloth.

LINDLEY.—THE THEORY OF HORTICULTURE;

Or, an Attempt to explain the Principal Operations of Gardening upon Physiological Principles. By JOHN LINDLEY, Ph.D., F.R.S. 8vo. with illustrations on Wood, 12s. cloth.

This book is written in the hope of providing the intelligent gardener, and the scientific amateur, correctly, with the rationalia of the more important operations of Horticulture: and the author has endeavoured to present to his readers an intelligible explanation, founded upon well-ascertained facts, which they can judge of by their own means of observation, of the general nature of vegetable actions, and of the causes which, while they control the powers of life in plants, are capable of being regulated by themselves. The possession of such knowledge will necessarily teach them how to improve their methods of cultivation, and lead them to the discovery of new and better modes.

LINDLEY.—GUIDE TO ORCHARD AND KITCHEN GARDEN;

Or, an Account of the most valuable Fruits and Vegetables cultivated in Great Britain: with Kalendars of the Work required in the Orchard and Kitchen Garden during every month in the year. By G. LINDLEY, C.M.H.S. Edited by Prof LINDLEY. 8vo. 16s. bds.

LLOYD.—A TREATISE ON LIGHT AND VISION.

By the Rev. H. LLOYD, M.A., Fellow of Trin. Coll. Dublin. 8vo. 15s. boards.

LORIMER.—LETTERS TO A YOUNG MASTER MARINER,

On some Subjects connected with his Calling. By CHARLES LORIMER. 3d Edition. 12mo. with an Appendix, 5s. 6d. cloth.

LOUDON (MRS.)—THE LADY'S COUNTRY COMPANION;

Or, How to Enjoy a Country Life Rationally. By Mrs. LOUDON, Author of "Gardening for Ladies," &c. Fcp. 8vo. with an Engraving on Steel, and Illustrations on Wood. [*In the press.*]

CONTENTS.—Introduction—The House—The Garden—Domestic Animals—Rural Walks—Miscellaneous Country Amusements—Country Duties.

LOUDON.—SELF-INSTRUCTION

For Young Gardeners, Foresters, Bailiffs, Land Stewards, and Farmers; in Arithmetic, Book-keeping, Geometry, Mensuration, Practical Trigonometry, Mechanics, Land-Surveying, Levelling, Planning and Mapping, Architectural Drawing, and Isometrical Projection and Perspective; with Examples shewing their applications to Horticulture and Agricultural Purposes. By the late J. C. LOUDON, F.L.S. H.S. &c. 8vo. [*In the press.*]

LOUDON.—AN ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF TREES AND SHRUBS;

being the "Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum" abridged: containing the Hardy Trees and Shrubs of Great Britain, Native and Foreign, Scientifically and Popularly Described; with their Propagation, Culture, and Uses in the Arts; and with Engravings of nearly all the Species. Adapted for the use of Nurserymen, Gardeners, and Foresters. By J. C. LOUDON, F.L.S. &c. 1 large vol. 8vo. with 2000 Engravings on Wood, £2. 10s. cloth.

The Original Work may be had in 8 vols. 8vo. with above 400 Octavo Plates of Trees, and upwards of 2500 Woodcuts, £10, cloth.

LOUDON.—AN ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF GARDENING;

Presenting, in one systematic view, the History and Present State of Gardening in all Countries, and its Theory and Practice in Great Britain: with the Management of the Kitchen Garden, the Flower Garden, Laying-out Grounds, &c. By J. C. LOUDON, F.L.S. &c. A New Edition, enlarged and much improved. 1 large vol. 8vo. with nearly 1,000 Engravings on Wood, 50s. cloth.

LOUDON.—AN ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF AGRICULTURE;

Comprising the Theory and Practice of the Valuation, Transfer, Laying-out, Improvement, and Management of Landed Property, and of the Cultivation and Economy of the Animal and Vegetable productions of Agriculture: including all the latest Improvements, a general History of Agriculture in all Countries, a Statistical View of its present State, with Suggestions for its future progress in the British Isles; and Supplement, bringing down the work to the year 1844. By J. C. LOUDON, F.L.G.Z. and H.S. &c. 5th Edition. 1 large vol. 8vo. with upwards of 1100 Engravings on Wood, by Branston, £2. 10s. cloth.

The SUPPLEMENT, bringing down Improvements in the art of Field-Culture from 1831 to 1844 inclusive, comprising all the previous Supplements, and illustrated with 65 Engravings on Wood, may be had *separately*, 5s. sewed.

LOUDON.—AN ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF PLANTS;

Including all the Plants which are now found in, or have been introduced into, Great Britain; giving their Natural History, accompanied by such descriptions, engraved figures, and elementary details, as may enable a beginner, who is a mere English reader, to discover the name of every Plant which he may find in flower, and acquire all the information respecting it which is useful and interesting. The Specific Characters by an Eminent Botanist; the Drawings by J. D. C. SOWERBY, F.L.S. A New Edition, with New Supplement, comprising every desirable particular respecting all the Plants originated in, or introduced into, Britain between the first publication of the work, in 1829, and January 1840: with a new General Index to the whole work. Edited by J. C. LOUDON, prepared by W. H. BAXTER, Jun. and revised by George Don, F.L.S.; and 800 new Figures of Plants on Wood, from Drawings by J. D. C. SOWERBY, F.L.S. 1 very large vol. 8vo. with nearly 10,000 Wood Engravings, £3. 13s. 6d. cloth.—The last Supplement, *separately*, 8vo. 15s. cloth.

LOUDON.—AN ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF COTTAGE, FARM, AND

VILLA ARCHITECTURE AND FURNITURE. Containing Designs for Cottages, Villas, Farm Houses, Farmeries, Country Inns. Public Houses, Parochial Schools, &c.: with the requisite Fittings-up, Fixtures, and Furniture, and appropriate Offices, Gardens, and Garden Scenery: each Design accompanied by Analytical and Critical Remarks illustrative of the Principles of Architectural Science and Taste on which it is composed, and General Estimates of the Expense. By J. C. LOUDON, F.L.S. &c. New Edition, corrected, with a Supplement, containing 160 additional pages of letter-press and nearly 300 new engravings, 8vo. with more than 2000 Engravings on Wood, £3. 3s. cloth.—The Supplement, *separately*, 8vo. 7s. 6d. sewed.

"The late Mr. Loudon has the merit of having conveyed more information upon architecture in a popular style, as adapted for general readers, than was ever attempted before, or than has been accomplished since. His Encyclopædia of Cottage and Village Architecture is indispensable to the library of all non-professional readers, who may at some time of their life propose to build a cottage or country house."—WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

LOUDON.—HORTUS BRITANNICUS:

A Catalogue of all the Plants indigenous to or introduced into Britain. The 3d Edition, with a NEW SUPPLEMENT, prepared, under the direction of J. C. LOUDON, by W. H. BAXTER, and revised by GEORGE DON, F.L.S. 8vo. 31s. 6d. cloth.

The SUPPLEMENT *separately*, 8vo. 2s. 6d. sewed.

The LATER SUPPLEMENT *separately*, 8s.

LOUDON.—HORTUS LIGNOSIS LONDINENSIS;

Or, a Catalogue of all the Ligneous Plants cultivated in the neighbourhood of London. To which are added their usual prices in Nurseries. By J. C. Loudon, F.L.S. &c. 8vo. 7s. 6d. cl.

LOUDON.—THE SUBURBAN GARDENER AND VILLA

COMPANION: comprising the Choice of a Villa or Suburban Residence, or of a situation on which to form one; the Arrangement and Furnishing of the House; and the Laying-out, Planting, and general Management of the Garden and Grounds; the whole adapted for grounds from one perch to fifty acres and upwards in extent; intended for the instruction of those who know little of Gardening or Rural Affairs, and more particularly for the use of Ladies. By J. C. Loudon, F.L.S. &c. 8vo. with above 300 Wood Engravings, 20s. cloth.

LOW (PROFESSOR).—ON LANDED PROPERTY,

And the **ECONOMY OF ESTATES;** comprehending the Relation of Landlord and Tenant, and the Principles and Forms of Leases; Farm-Buildings, Enclosures, Drains, Embankments, and other Rural Works; Minerals; and Woods. By DAVID LOW, Esq. F.R.S.E. Professor of Agriculture in the University of Edinburgh, &c.; Author of "Elements of Practical Agriculture," &c. 8vo. with numerous Wood Engravings, 21s. cloth.

"A most useful and important part of Mr. Low's book is that which goes into the detail of farm and outhouse building, the mode of constructing drains, making walls, fences, &c. These subjects are illustrated with numerous cuts, and treated with the utmost clearness, fulness, and ability. The treatise on the cultivation of trees will also be found very extensively useful. A long and valuable appendix is added to the work, being a copious table of expenses in all departments of farming, and forming a complete guide for the inexperienced gentleman-farmer or proprietor, in his dealings and doings, who, with this book in his hand, may, however extensive his estate, dispense with that often costly appendage, a Scotch steward, and, even if himself a cultivator of the soil, may gain a degree and kind of knowledge certain to be serviceable to him in more ways than one."—GARDENERS' CHRONICLE

LOW.—THE BREEDS OF THE DOMESTICATED ANIMALS

Of Great Britain Described. By DAVID LOW, Esq. F.R.S.E. Professor of Agriculture in the University of Edinburgh; Member of the Royal Academy of Agriculture of Sweden; Corresponding Member of the Conseil Royal d'Agriculture de France, of the Société Royale Centrale, &c. &c. The Plates from Drawings by W. Nicholson, R.S.A. reduced from a Series of Oil Paintings, executed for the Agricultural Museum of the University of Edinburgh, by W. Shields, R.S.A. 2 vols. atlas quarto, with 56 plates of animals, beautifully coloured after Nature, £16. 16s. half-bound in morocco.—Or in four separate portions, as follow:

The OX. 1 vol. atlas quarto, with 22 plates, £6. 16s. 6d. half-bound in morocco.

The SHEEP. 1 vol. atlas quarto, with 21 plates, £6. 16s. 6d. half-bound in morocco.

The HORSE. 1 vol. atlas quarto, with 8 plates, £3. half-bound in morocco.

The HOG. 1 vol. atlas quarto, with 5 plates, £2. 2s. half-bound in morocco.

LOW.—AN INQUIRY INTO THE NATURE OF THE SIMPLE

BODIES of CHEMISTRY. By DAVID LOW, Esq. F.R.S.E. Prof. of Agriculture in the University of Edinburgh. 8vo. 6s. cloth.

LOW.—ELEMENTS OF PRACTICAL AGRICULTURE;

Comprehending the Cultivation of Plants, the Husbandry of the Domestic Animals, and the Economy of the Farm. By D. Low, Esq. F.R.S.E., Prof. of Agriculture in University of Edinburgh. 4th Edit. with Alterations and Additions, and above 200 Woodcuts. 8vo. 21s. cloth.

MACAULAY.—CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL ESSAYS CON-

TRIBUTED TO THE EDINBURGH REVIEW. By the Right Hon. THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY. 3d Edition. 3 vols. 8vo. 36s. cloth.

MACAULAY.—LAYS OF ANCIENT ROME.

By the Right Hon. THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY. 5th Edition. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d. cloth.

MACKENZIE.—THE PHYSIOLOGY OF VISION.

By W. MACKENZIE, M.D., Lecturer on the Eye in the University of Glasgow. 8vo. with Woodcuts, 10s. 6d. boards.

MACKINTOSH (SIR JAMES).—THE LIFE OF SIR THOMAS

MORE. By the Right Hon. Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH. Reprinted from the Cabinet Cyclopaedia; and intended as a Present Book or School Prize. Fcp. 8vo. with Portrait, 5s. cloth; or bound in vellum gilt (*old style*), 8s.

"This is one of the happiest productions of its distinguished author. It has seldom happened that the career of a great man has been described with a sympathy at once so warm and discriminating. The narrative is brief, easy, and graceful, and omits nothing calculated to convey a vivid image of Sir Thomas More as he was both in public and private. The impression of the story is quite unique; its moral lesson worth a thousand homilies. The biography, in its present beautiful form, is in every sense a gem of the purest water."—MORNING CHRONICLE.

MACKINTOSH (SIR JAMES).—SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH'S

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS; including his Contributions to "The Edinburgh Review." Collected and edited by his Son. 3 vols. 8vo. [*In the press.*]

MACKINTOSH, &c. — THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

By Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH; W. WALLACE, Esq.; and ROBERT BELL, Esq. 10 vols. fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Titles, £3. cloth.

M'CULLOCH.—A TREATISE ON THE PRINCIPLES AND

PRACTICAL INFLUENCE OF TAXATION and the FUNDING SYSTEM. By J. R. M'CULLOCH, Esq. 8vo. 15s. cloth.

M'CULLOCH.—THE LITERATURE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY: being a Classified Catalogue of the principal Works in the different departments of Political Economy, interspersed with Historical, Critical, and Biographical Notices. By J. R. M'CULLOCH, Esq. 8vo. [In the press.]

M'CULLOCH.—A DICTIONARY, PRACTICAL, THEORETICAL, AND HISTORICAL, OF COMMERCE AND COMMERCIAL NAVIGATION. Illustrated with Maps and Plans. By J. R. M'CULLOCH, Esq. Member of the Institute of France. An entirely New Edition, corrected throughout, enlarged, and improved. 1 very thick vol. 8vo. 50s. cloth; or 55s. strongly half-bound in russia, with flexible back.

"Without exaggeration one of the most wonderful compilations of the age. The power of continuous labour, the wide range of inquiry, and the power of artistic finish, which have been brought into play by this work, are probably unrivalled in the history of literature. . . . Compared with all previous attempts to compile a commercial dictionary, Mr. M'Culloch's appears as the realisation of an idea which former projectors had conceived too vaguely to be able to carry into execution. It is superior to them all, quite as much for the spirit of judicious selection brought by the author to his task, as for any other quality. The great merit of the work is, that, while omitting nothing of essential importance, it contains nothing that is useless or merely cumbrous. . . . The success of the earlier editions of Mr. M'Culloch's Dictionary is, after all, the best proof of its merit: the facts attending it, prove that the mercantile, political, and literary public were in want of such a work, and that they were satisfied with the manner in which Mr. M'Culloch had performed his task. No reader can rise from the perusal of any one of the larger articles without feeling that no previous writer has concentrated so much valuable information within so small a compass, or conveyed his information in so agreeable a style. And the remark is equally applicable to all the numerous articles of which this crammed volume is composed. . . . It is, indeed, invaluable as a book of reference to the merchant, the insurance-agent, the statesman, and the journalist; and its articles, from the care and talent with which they are executed, are as well calculated to supply the wants of the patient inquirer as of the hurried man of business. Mr. M'Culloch occupies a high place amongst the authors of the day as a hard-headed original thinker in political economy; a still higher, as one of the most zealous and successful labourers in rendering that science popular; but, of all his publications, his Commercial Dictionary is the one least likely to encounter the rivalry of a work of superior or even equal value."—Abridged from THE SPECTATOR of March 16, 1844.

M'CULLOCH.—A DICTIONARY, GEOGRAPHICAL, STATISTICAL, AND HISTORICAL, of the various Countries, Places, and Principal Natural Objects in the WORLD. By J. R. M'CULLOCH, Esq. 2 thick vols. 8vo. illustrated with Six Large important Maps. £4. cloth.

"The extent of information this Dictionary affords on the subjects referred to in its title is truly surprising. It cannot fail to prove a *vide-mecum* to the student, whose inquiries will be guided by its light, and satisfied by its clear and frequently elaborated communications. Every public room in which commerce, politics, or literature, forms the subject of discussion, ought to be furnished with these volumes."—GLOBE.

MALTE-BRUN.—A SYSTEM OF UNIVERSAL GEOGRAPHY, Founded on the Works of MALTE-BRUN and BALBI, embracing an Historical Sketch of the Progress of Geographical Discovery, the Principles of Mathematical and Physical Geography, and a complete Description, from the most recent sources, of the Political and Social Condition of all the Countries in the World: with numerous Statistical Tables. 8vo. 30s. cloth.

MARCET.—CONVERSATIONS ON CHEMISTRY;

In which the Elements of that Science are familiarly Explained and Illustrated by Experiments. 14th Edition, enlarged and corrected. 2 vols. fcp. 8vo. 14s. cloth.

MARCET.—CONVERSATIONS ON NATURAL PHILOSOPHY;

In which the Elements of that Science are familiarly explained, and adapted to the comprehension of Young Persons. 10th Edition, enlarged and corrected by the Author. Fcp. 8vo. with 23 Plates, 10s. 6d. cloth.

Of the General Properties of Bodies; the Attraction of Gravity; the Laws of Motion; Compound Motion; the Mechanical Powers; Astronomy; Causes of the Earth's Motion; the Planets; the Earth; the Moon; Hydrostatics; the Mechanical Properties of Fluids; of Springs, Fountains, &c.; Pneumatics; the Mechanical Properties of Air; on Wind and Sound; Optics; the Visual Angle and the Reflection of Mirrors; on Refraction and Colours; on the Structure of the Eye, and Optical Instruments.

MARCET.—CONVERSATIONS ON POLITICAL ECONOMY;

In which the Elements of that Science are familiarly explained. 7th Edition revised and enlarged. Fcp. 8vo. 7s. 6d. cloth.

Introduction; on Property; the Division of Labour; on Capital; on Wages and Population; on the Condition of the Poor; on Value and Price; on Income; Income from Landed Property; Income from the Cultivation of Land; Income from Capital lent; on Money; on Commerce; on Foreign Trade; on Expenditure and Consumption.

MARCET.—CONVERSATIONS ON VEGETABLE PHYSIO-

LOGY; comprehending the Elements of Botany, with their application to Agriculture. 3d Edition. Fcp. 8vo. with 4 Plates, 9s. cloth.

Introduction; on Roots; on Stems; on Leaves; on Sap; on Cambium and the peculiar Juices of Plants; on the Action of Light and Heat on Plants; on the Naturalization of Plants; on the Action of the Atmosphere on Plants; on the Action of Water on Plants; on the Artificial Mode of Watering Plants; on the Action of the Soil on Plants; on the Propagation of Plants by Subdivision; on Grafting; on the Multiplication of Plants by seed; the Flower; on Compound Flowers; on Fruit; on the Seed; on the Classification of Plants; on Artificial Systems; on the Natural System; Botanical Geography; the Influence of Culture on Vegetation; on the Degeneration and Diseases of Plants; on the Cultivation of Trees; on the Cultivation of Plants which produce Fermented Liquors; on the Cultivation of Grasses, Tuberous Roots, and Grain; on Oleaginous Plants and Culinary Vegetables.

MARCET.—CONVERSATIONS FOR CHILDREN;

On Land and Water. 2d Edition, revised and corrected. Fcp. 8vo. with coloured Maps, showing the comparative altitude of Mountains, 5s. 6d. cloth.

"This is so far superior to the usual class of modern books, in which it is thought necessary to give instruction a garnish of amusement, that we cannot omit to recommend it here."—*QUARTERLY REVIEW*.

MARCET.—CONVERSATIONS ON LANGUAGE,

For Children. By Mrs. MARCET, Author of "Mary's Grammar," "Conversations on Chemistry," &c. 18mo. 4s. 6d. cloth.

"In these Conversations Mrs. Marcet travels over a great deal of ground, with her wonted skill in adapting knowledge to the capacity of the young. The nature of articulate sounds, and the organs of speech, the history of mankind to indicate the formation of different languages, the manner in which English has been indebted to Latin, the probable or possible origin of language, and the use of cognomens and names, are all familiarly displayed in this instructive little volume."—*SPECTATOR*.

MARCET.—MARY'S GRAMMAR;

Interspersed with Stories, and intended for the Use of Children. 7th Edition, revised and enlarged. 18mo. 3s. 6d. half-bound.

"A sound and simple work for the earliest ages."—*QUARTERLY REVIEW*.

MARCET.—THE GAME OF GRAMMAR,

With a Book of Conversations shewing the Rules of the Game, and affording Examples of the manner of playing at it. In a varnished box, or done up as a post 8vo. volume in cloth, 8s.

MARCET.—LESSONS ON ANIMALS, VEGETABLES, AND

MINERALS. By Mrs. MARCET, Author of "Conversations on Chemistry," &c. 12mo. 2s. cl.

"One of Mrs. Marcet's carefully-written books of instruction, in which natural history is made pleasant and intelligible for the young."—*ATHENEUM*.

MARCET.—CONVERSATIONS ON THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

for the Use of Children. By Mrs. MARCET, Author of "Conversations on Chemistry," &c. 2d Edition, with Additions, continuing the History to the Reign of George the Third. 18mo. 5s. cloth.

"Juvenile literature will freely own how much it is indebted to Mrs. Marcet, not only for the present, but all her preceding works. She imparts interest to dry and dull details; and, while she teaches, budgets a desire in her pupils for further knowledge, so pleasantly imparted. These 'Conversations,' admirably suited to the capacities of children, may be skimmed advantageously by children of a larger growth."—*LITERARY GAZETTE*.

MARRIAGE GIFT.

By a MOTHER. A Legacy to her Children. Post 8vo. 5s. cloth, gilt edges.

MARRYAT.—THE SETTLERS IN CANADA.

Written for Young People. By Capt. MARRYAT, C.B. Author of "Peter Simple," "Masterman Ready," &c. 2 vols. fcp. 8vo. 12s. cloth.

"This exceedingly clever, amusing, and instructive book forms a delightful companion to 'Masterman Ready.' It is a story full of exciting incidents and interesting situations, and, although written for young people, will be read with pleasure by everybody. We cannot too warmly recommend the love of piety, reliance upon Providence, and humble submission to the Divine will, which pervade the work."—*NAVAL AND MILITARY GAZETTE*.

MARRYAT.—MASTERMAN READY;

Or, the Wreck of the Pacific. Written for Young People. By CAPTAIN MARRYAT. 3 vols. fcp. 8vo. with numerous Engravings on Wood, 22s. 6d. cloth.

* * * The volumes *separately*, 7s. 6d. each, cloth.

"The best of Robinson Crusoe's numerous descendants, and one of the most captivating of modern children's books. The only danger is, lest parents should dispute with their children the possession of it."—*QUARTERLY REV.*

MARX AND WILLIS.—ON THE DECREASE OF DISEASE

effected by the Progress of Civilization. By C. F. H. MARX, M.D. Professor of Medicine in the University of Göttingen, &c.; and R. WILLIS, M.D. Member of the Royal College of Physicians, &c. Fcp. 8vo. 4s. cloth.

MAUNDER.—THE TREASURY OF HISTORY;

Comprising a General Introductory Outline of Universal History, Ancient and Modern, and a Series of separate Histories of every principal Nation that exists; their Rise, Progress, and Present Condition, the Moral and Social Character of their respective inhabitants, their Religion, Manners, and Customs, &c. By SAMUEL MAUNDER. 1 thick vol. fcp. 8vo. 10s. cloth; bound in roan, 12s.

"An encyclopædia of history in miniature—some hundreds of volumes compressed into one. The author first gives a general sketch of ancient and modern history—a sort of explanatory chart by which we perceive the relations of one state and empire to another, and mark how their boundaries advance or recede, fluctuate or become defined; and then furnishes a neat and concise digest of the history of each kingdom or division of the world. The book is an universal storehouse of historical facts, classified, chronologically arranged, linked by succinct narrative, and brought down to the present times. To the historical student, and to all general readers, the work is invaluable for constant reference, if only for its copious and minutely-accurate dates; and it must form an indispensable complement to all libraries."—*BRITANNIA*.

MAUNDER.—THE TREASURY OF KNOWLEDGE,

And LIBRARY OF REFERENCE: containing a new and enlarged Dictionary of the English Language, preceded by a Compendious Grammar, Verbal Distinctions, &c.; a new Universal Gazetteer; a Compendious Classical Dictionary; a Chronological Analysis of General History; a Dictionary of Law Terms, &c. &c. By SAMUEL MAUNDER. 14th Edition. 1 thick vol. fcp. 8vo. with two engraved Frontispieces, 8s. 6d. cloth; bound in roan, 10s. 6d.

MAUNDER.—THE SCIENTIFIC & LITERARY TREASURY;

A new and popular Encyclopædia of Science and the Belles-Lettres; including all Branches of Science, and every Subject connected with Literature and Art. The whole written in a familiar style, adapted to the comprehension of all persons desirous of acquiring information on the subjects comprised in the work, and also adapted for a Manual of convenient Reference to the more instructed. By SAMUEL MAUNDER. 3d Edition. 1 thick vol. fcp. 8vo. with engraved Frontispiece, 10s. cloth; bound in roan, 12s.

MAUNDER.—THE BIOGRAPHICAL TREASURY;

Consisting of Memoirs, Sketches, and brief Notices of above 12,000 Eminent Persons of all Age and Nations, from the Earliest Period of History; forming a new and complete Dictionary of Universal Biography. By SAMUEL MAUNDER. 5th Edition, revised throughout, and containing a copious Supplement, brought down to December, 1844. 1 thick volume. Fcp. 8vo. with engraved Frontispiece, 10s. cloth; bound in roan, 12s.

MAUNDER.—THE UNIVERSAL CLASS-BOOK:

A new Series of Reading Lessons (original and selected) for Every Day in the Year; each Lesson recording some important Event in General History, Biography, &c. which happened on the day of the month under which it is placed, or detailing, in familiar language, interesting facts in Science; also a variety of Descriptive and Narrative Pieces, interspersed with Poetical Gleanings: Questions for Examination being appended to each day's Lesson, and the whole carefully adapted to Practical Tuition. By SAMUEL MAUNDER, Author of "The Treasury of Knowledge." 2d Edition, revised. 12mo. 5s. bound.

MONTGOMERY'S (JAMES) POETICAL WORKS.

New and only Complete Edition. With some additional Poems, and Antobiographical Prefaces. Collected and Edited by Mr. MONTGOMERY. 4 vols. fcp. 8vo. with Portrait, and Seven other beautifully-engraved Plates, 20s. cloth; or bound in morocco, 36s.

MOORE'S POETICAL WORKS;

Containing the Author's recent Introduction and Notes. Complete in one volume, uniform with Lord Byron's Poems. With a New Portrait, by George Richmond, engraved in the line manner, and a View of Floperton Cottage, the Residence of the Poet, by Thomas Creswick, A.R.A. Medium 8vo. 21s. cloth; or 42s. bound in morocco, in the best manner, by Hayday.

. Also, an Edition in 10 vols. fcp. 8vo. with Portrait, and 19 Plates £2. 10s. cloth morocco, £4. 10s.

MOORE'S LALLA ROOKH.

Twentieth Edition. Medium 8vo. illustrated with 13 Engravings finished in the highest style of Art, 21s. cloth; morocco, 35s; or, with India Proof Plates, 42s. cloth.

MOORE'S LALLA ROOKH.

Twenty-first Edition. Fcp. 8vo. with Four Engravings, from Paintings by Westall, 10s. 6d. cloth; or, handsomely bound in morocco, in the best manner, 14s.

MOORE'S IRISH MELODIES.

New Edition. Imp. 8vo. illustrated with 154 Designs by MacIscle, etched on steel. [In the Press. The Poetry and Designs will both be engraved, and each page surrounded with an Ornamental Border.

MOORE'S IRISH MELODIES.

Fifteenth Edition. Fcp. 8vo. with Engraved Title and Vignette, 10s. cloth; or bound in morocco, in the best manner, 13s. 6d.

MOORE.—THE HISTORY OF IRELAND.

By THOMAS MOORE, Esq. Vols. 1 to 3, with Vignette Titles, 18s. cloth.

[To be completed in One more volume.

"Mr. Moore fortunately brings to his labours not only extensive learning in the rarely-trodden paths of Irish history, but strict impartiality; and indeed still more clear and uncompromising by an emanating love of liberty. Every page of his work contains evidence of research; and innumerable passages might be cited in proof of the independent and truth-seeking spirit of the author."—ATHENÆUM.

MORAL OF FLOWERS.

3d Edition. Royal 8vo. with 24 beautifully-coloured Engravings, £1. 10s. half-bound.

MORTON.—A VETERINARY TOXICOLOGICAL CHART,

Containing those Agents known to cause Death in the Horse; with the Symptoms, Antidotes, Action on the Tissues, and Tests. By W. J. T. MORTON. 12mo. 6s. in case on rollers, 8s. 6d.

MORTON.—A MANUAL OF PHARMACY,

For the Student in Veterinary Medicine; containing the Substances employed at the Royal Veterinary College, with an attempt at their classification, and the Pharmacopœia of that Institution. By W. J. T. MORTON. 3d Edition. 12mo. 10s. cloth.

MOSELEY.—THE MECHANICAL PRINCIPLES OF ENGINEERING AND ARCHITECTURE.

By the Rev. H. MOSELEY, M.A. F.R.S., Professor of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy in King's College, London; and Author of "Illustrations of Mechanics," &c. 8vo. with Woodcuts and Diagrams, 24s. cloth.

"The work of Mr. Moseley is an elaborate, profound, accurate, and elegant abstract, and purely mathematical disquisition on the theoretical principles of mechanics; and will serve to increase the author's high reputation as a mathematician."—ATHENÆUM.

MOSELEY.—ILLUSTRATIONS OF PRACTICAL MECHANICS.

By the Rev. H. MOSELEY, M.A., Professor of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy in King's College, London; being the First Volume of the Illustrations of Science by the Professors of King's College. Fcp. 8vo. with numerous Woodcuts, 8s. cloth.

MÜLLER.—INTRODUCTION TO A SCIENTIFIC SYSTEM

of MYTHOLOGY. By C. O. MÜLLER, Author of "The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race," &c. Translated from the German by John Leitch. 8vo. uniform with "Müller's Dorians," 12s. cloth.

"Clearing away the obscurity and confusion in which mythology were enveloped by the glosses of the later and more artificial ages, Müller has reduced it to its primary elements; and disentangling the beautiful legends of antiquity from the crowd of puerilities by which they were deformed, presented them to the world in the graceful form in which they originally sprang from the mint of popular superstition. In this he has rendered an important service, not only to those who wish to obtain a thorough understanding of the character and literature of the ancient Greeks, but to enquirers into mental philosophy and the history of natural religion. At the same time, the acuteness and sobriety of his judgment make him a safe guide to the practical student. His work has now been admirably translated by Mr. Leitch, whose version, combining freedom, fidelity, and elegance, is all that can be wished."—*MORNING CHRONICLE.*

MURRAY.—ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF GEOGRAPHY;

Comprising a complete Description of the Earth: exhibiting its Relation to the Heavenly Bodies, its Physical Structure, the Natural History of each Country, and the Industry, Commerce, Political Institutions, and Civil and Social State of all Nations. By HUGH MURRAY, F.R.S.E.: assisted in Astronomy, &c. by Professor Wallace; Geology, &c. by Professor Jameson; Botany, &c. by Sir W. J. Hooker; Zoology, &c. by W. Swainson, Esq. New Edition, with Supplement, bringing down the Statistical Information contained in the work to Dec. 1843; with 82 Maps, drawn by Sidney Hall, and upwards of 1000 other Engravings on Wood, from Drawings by Swainson, T. Landseer, Sowerby, Strutt, &c. representing the most remarkable Objects of Nature and Art in every Region of the Globe. 1 very thick vol. 8vo. £3. cloth.

* * * The SUPPLEMENT, containing the most important recent Information, may be had separately, price 1s.

NICOLAS.—THE CHRONOLOGY OF HISTORY.

Containing Tables, Calculations, and Statements indispensable for ascertaining the Dates of Historical Events, and of Public and Private Documents, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time. By Sir HARRIS NICOLAS, K.C.M.G. Second edition, corrected throughout. Fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Title, 6s. cloth.

"We strongly recommend to historical students the clear and accurate 'Chronology of History,' by Sir Harris Nicolas, which contains all the information that can be practically required."—*QUARTERLY REVIEW.*

NISBET (JAMES).—THE FRENCH IN RHEINSTADT:

A Romance of the Day. A Friendly Voice from the Avon's Banks to the Nations of Germany, and other Poems. By JAMES NISBET. Post 8vo. 7s. 6d. cloth.

"Full of fire and imagination, flowing and vigorous. It breathes that spirit of hostility to revolutionary movements which we feel it our duty to uphold in prose or verse. The descriptive parts are admirable. Mr. Nisbet's minor Poems, too, possess more than ordinary beauty of thought as well as expression."—*COURT JOURNAL.*

OPIE (MRS.)—FATHER AND DAUGHTER. AND TEMPER.

Tales. By Mrs. OPIE. Fcp. 8vo. with two Illustrations, 6s. cloth.

OPIE (MRS.)—ADELINE MOWBRAY, OR THE MOTHER

and DAUGHTER. AND the WELCOME HOME. Tales by Mrs. OPIE. Fcp. 8vo. with two Illustrations, 6s. cloth.

OWEN.—LECTURES ON THE COMPARATIVE ANATOMY

AND PHYSIOLOGY OF THE INVERTEBRATE ANIMALS, delivered at the Royal College of Surgeons in 1843. By RICHARD OWEN, F.R.S. Hunterian Professor to the College. From Notes taken by William White Cooper, M.R.C.S. and revised by Professor Owen. With Glossary and Index. 8vo. with nearly 140 Illustrations on Wood, 14s. cloth.

* * * A Second and concluding Volume, being the Lectures (*On Vertebrata*) delivered by Prof. Owen during the present session, is *in the Press.*

PARKES.—DOMESTIC DUTIES;

Or, Instructions to Young Married Ladies on the Management of their Households, and the Regulation of their Conduct in the various Relations and Duties of Married Life. By Mrs. W. PARKES. 5th Edition. Fcp. 8vo. 9s. cloth.

Social Relations—Household Concerns—the Regulation of Time—Moral and Religious Duties.

PARNELL.—A TREATISE ON ROADS;

Wherein the Principles on which Roads should be made are explained and illustrated by the Plans, Specifications, and Contracts made use of by Thomas Telford, Esq. on the Holyhead Road. By the Right Hon. Sir HENRY PARNELL, Bart., Hon. Memb. Inst. Civ. Eng. London. Second Edition, greatly enlarged. 8vo. with 9 large plates, £1. 1s. cloth.

PEARSON.—AN INTRODUCTION TO PRACTICAL ASTRO-

NOMY. By the Rev. W. PEARSON, LL.D. F.R.S., &c., Rector of South Killworth, Leicestershire, and Treasurer to the Astronomical Society of London. 2 vols. 4to. with Plates, £7. 7s. boards.

Vol. 1 contains Tables, recently computed, for facilitating the Reduction of Celestial observations; and a popular explanation of their Construction and Use.

Vol. 2 contains Descriptions of the various Instruments that have been usefully employed in determining the Places of the Heavenly Bodies, with an Account of the Methods of Adjusting and Using them.

PERCIVALL.—HIPPOPATHOLOGY;

A Systematic Treatise on the Disorders and Lameness of the Horse; with their modern and most approved Methods of Cure; embracing the doctrines of the English and French Veterinary Schools. By W. PERCIVALL, M.R.C.S. Veterinary Surgeon in the 1st Life Guards. Vols. 1 and 2, 8vo. Vol. 1, 10s. 6d. boards; Vol. 2, 14s. boards.

PERCIVALL.—THE ANATOMY OF THE HORSE;

Embracing the Structure of the Foot. By W. PERCIVALL, M.R.C.S. 8vo. £1, cloth.

PEREIRA.—A TREATISE ON FOOD AND DIET:

With Observations on the Dietetical Regimen suited for Disordered States of the Digestive Organs; and an Account of the Dieters of some of the principal Metropolitan and other Establishments for Paupers, Lunatics, Criminals, Children, the Sick, &c. By JON. PEREIRA, M.D. F.R.S. & L.S. Author of "Elements of Materia Medica." 8vo. 16s. cloth.

"Invaluable to the professional, and interesting even to the general reader. It is written in that clear and racy style which characterises Dr. Pereira's writings, and which possesses such charms for those who like scientific books when they are not 'too dry.' We may, in fine, pronounce it well worthy of the author of the best work on Materia Medica and Therapeutics of the age in which he lives."—CHEMIST.

PESCHEL (C. F.)—ELEMENTS OF PHYSICS.

Part 1—Ponderable Bodies. By C. F. PESCHEL, Principal of the Royal Military College, Dresden. Translated from the German, with Notes, by E. WEST. Fcp. 8vo. with Diagrams and Woodcuts. [Now ready.]

This volume has been translated in the expectation that it will supply a vacuum which, it is believed, exists of English works on natural philosophy. The treatises on this science in our language are, almost without exception, either purely theoretical, or they are, in the strictest sense of the term, popular: the present work is of a mixed character, being a systematic treatise adapted for the use of schools, excluding difficult mathematics, but retaining the mathematical method; it contains many numerical illustrations to exercise the student in the application of the formulæ, besides copious tables, which will give it a value to the practical man. The foreign measures have been reduced to English standards, and a few notes added to the original matter. The second and concluding part, containing the Physics of Imponderable Bodies, is in preparation.

PHILLIPS.—AN ELEMENTARY INTRODUCTION TO MINER-

ALOGY; comprising a Notice of the Characters and Elements of Minerals; with Accounts of the Places and Circumstances in which they are found. By WILLIAM PHILLIPS, F.L.S. M.G.S. &c. 4th Edition, considerably augmented by R. ALLAN, F.R.S.E. 8vo. with numerous Cuts, 12s. cloth.

PHILLIPS.—FIGURES AND DESCRIPTIONS OF THE

PALÆOZOIC FOSSILS of CORNWALL, DEVON, and WEST SOMERSET; observed in the course of the Ordnance Geological Survey of that District. By JOHN PHILLIPS, F.R.S. F.G.S. &c. Published by Order of the Lords Commissioners of H.M. Treasury. 8vo. with 60 Plates, comprising very numerous figures, 9s. cloth.

PHILLIPS.—A GUIDE TO GEOLOGY.

By JOHN PHILLIPS, F.R.S.G.S., &c. Fcp. 8vo. with Plates, 6s. cloth.

PHILLIPS.—A TREATISE ON GEOLOGY.

By JOHN PHILLIPS, F.R.S.G.S., &c. 2 vols. fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Titles and Woodcuts, 12s. cloth.

PORTER.—A TREATISE ON THE MANUFACTURE OF SILK.

By G. R. PORTER, Esq. F.R.S. Author of "The Progress of the Nation," &c. 1 vol. 8vo. with Vignette Title, and 39 Engravings on Wood, 6s. cloth.

PORTER.—A TREATISE ON THE MANUFACTURES OF

PORCELAIN AND GLASS. By G. R. PORTER, Esq. F.R.S. Fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Title and 50 Woodcuts, 6s. cloth.

PORTLOCK.—REPORT ON THE GEOLOGY OF THE COUNTY

OF LONDONDERRY, and of Parts of Tyrone and Fermanagh, examined and described under the Authority of the Master-General and Board of Ordnance. By J. E. PORTLOCK, F.R.S. &c. 8vo. with 48 Plates, 24s. cloth.

POSTANS.—PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS ON SINDH,

The Manners and Customs of its Inhabitants, and its Productive Capabilities: with a Narrative of the Recent Events. By Capt. POSTANS, Bombay Army, late Assistant to the Political Agent, Sindh. 8vo. with new Map, coloured Frontispiece, and other Illustrations, 18s. cloth.

"For the interesting details of the manners and customs of the Sindhians of all classes, and the various particulars which make up the description of the country, we refer the reader to Capt. Postans' valuable work, which cannot fail to afford him equal information and amusement."—ASIANIC JOURNAL

POWELL.—THE HISTORY OF NATURAL PHILOSOPHY,

From the Earliest Periods to the Present Time. By BADEN POWELL, M.A., Savilian Professor of Mathematics in the University of Oxford. Fcp. 8vo. Vignette Title, 6s. cloth.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ZOOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON.

8vo. The last part published in Part 10 for 1843, 6s. cloth.

PYCROFT (REV. J.)—A COURSE OF ENGLISH READING,

adapted to every Taste and Capacity: with Anecdotes of Men of Letters. By the Rev. JAMES PYCROFT, B.A. Trinity College, Oxford; Author of "Latin Grammar Practice," and "Greek Grammar Practice." Fcp. 8vo. 6s. 6d. cloth.

"A book of unexceptionable utility and sound advice, designed chiefly to recommend and indicate the study of convenient systems before attempting the deliberate pursuit of the larger works in history, philosophy, religion, biography, and other branches of knowledge, and then only so much as inclination may suggest."—*ATHENÆUM*.

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

of LONDON. Edited by DAVID THOMAS ANSTED, M.A. F.R.S. Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge; Professor of Geology in King's College, London; Vice-Secretary of the Geological Society. No. 1, 8vo. 4s. sewed. - Published quarterly. [No. 2 on *May 1st*.

RANKE'S HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

Translated by SARAH AUSTIN, Translator of Ranke's "History of the Popes." Vols. 1 and 2. 8vo. 30s. cloth.

REECE.—THE MEDICAL GUIDE,

For the use of the Clergy, Heads of Families, Seminaries, and Junior Practitioners in Medicine; comprising a complete Modern Dispensatory, and a Practical Treatise on the Distinguishing Symptoms, Causes, Prevention, Cure and Palliation, of the Diseases incident to the Human Frame. By R. REECE, M.D. late Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of London, &c. 16th Edition. 8vo. 12s. boards.

REID (DR.)—ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRINCIPLES AND

PRACTICE OF WARMING AND VENTILATING, with Preliminary Remarks on Health and Length of Life. By D. B. REID, M.D. F.R.S.E. 8vo. with Diagrams, and 320 Engravings on wood, 16s. cloth

"A very clever, ingenious, and learned treatise, of practical utility and concern to all classes of people. Almost every point of view in which the subjects of warming and ventilation can be taken is presented to the reader in this masterly work: they are pursued in public and private buildings, in churches and chapels, in ships, manufactories, and mines. The details are very curious, and greatly assisted in effect by the profuse employment of diagrams and woodcuts. Every thing is done, in short, to make the information acceptable to non-professional readers, as well as available for the uses of the architect and physician."—*EXAMINER*.

REPTON.—THE LANDSCAPE GARDENING & LANDSCAPE

ARCHITECTURE of the late HUMPHRY REPTON, Esq.; being his entire works on these subjects. New Edition, with an historical and scientific Introduction, a systematic Analysis, a Biographical Notice, Notes, and a copious alphabetical Index. By J. C. LOUPON, F.L.S. &c. Originally published in 1 folio and 3 quarto volumes, and now comprised in 1 vol. 8vo. illustrated by upwards of 250 Engravings, and Portrait, 30s. cloth; with coloured plates, £3. 6s. cloth.

RIDDLE.—A COMPLETE ENGLISH-LATIN AND LATIN-

ENGLISH DICTIONARY, compiled from the best sources, chiefly German. By the Rev. J. E. RIDDLE, M.A. 4th Edition. 8vo. 31s. 6d. cloth.

* * * Separately—The English-Latin part, 10s. 6d. cloth; the Latin-English part, 21s. cloth.

RIDDLE.—A DIAMOND LATIN ENGLISH DICTIONARY.

For the waistcoat-pocket. A Guide to the Meaning, Quality, and right Accentuation of Latin Classical Words. By the Rev. J. E. RIDDLE, M.A. Royal 32mo. 4s. bound.

"A most useful little lexicon to the general reader who may wish for an accommodating interpreter of such Latin words or sentences as may be encountered in every day's casual literary exercises. It is at once copious and succinct."—*MORNING HERALD*.

RIDDLE.—LETTERS FROM AN ABSENT GODFATHER;

Or, a Compendium of Religious Instruction for Young Persons. By the Rev. J. E. RIDDLE, M.A. Fcp. 8vo. 6s. cloth.

RIDDLE.—ECCLESIASTICAL CHRONOLOGY;

Or, Annals of the Christian Church, from its Foundation to the present Time. Containing a View of General Church History, and the Course of Secular Events; the Limits of the Church and its Relations to the State; Controversies; Sects and Parties; Rites, Institutions, and Discipline; Ecclesiastical Writers. The whole arranged according to the order of Dates, and divided into Seven Periods. To which are added, Lists of Councils and Popes, Patriarchs, and Archbishops of Canterbury. By the Rev. J. E. RIDDLE, M.A., Author of "The Complete Latin Dictionary." 8vo. 15s. cloth.

RIVERS.—THE ROSE AMATEUR'S GUIDE;

Containing ample Descriptions of all the fine leading varieties of Roses, regularly classed in their respective Families; their History and mode of Culture. By T. RIVERS, Jun. 3d Edition, corrected and improved. Fcp. 8vo. 6s. cloth.

"Mr. Rivers is the best authority on the subject of the cultivation of the rose; his book is unexceptionable and comprehensive, and supplies, indeed, all the information regarding the various varieties, that can be desired."

GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.

ROBERTS.—A COMPREHENSIVE VIEW OF THE CULTURE
of the VINE under GLASS. By JAMES ROBERTS, Gardener to M. Wilson, Esq., Eshton Hall, Yorkshire. 12mo. 5s. 6d. cloth.

ROBERTS (GEORGE).—THE LIFE, PROGRESSES, AND REBELLION of JAMES DUKE of MONMOUTH, to his Capture and Execution; with a full Account of the Bloody Assizes, and copious Biographical Notices. By GEORGE ROBERTS, Author of "The History of Lyme Regis," &c. &c. 2 vols. post 8vo. with Portrait, Maps, and other Illustrations, 24s. cloth.

"Mr. Roberts deserves credit for the diligence with which he has searched for original documents, many of which throw important light on the period."—*ATHENÆUM*.

"Mr. Roberts's volume will be read with eagerness and profit, for the light which his industrious researches amongst ancient records, hitherto untouched by the historian, have enabled him to throw upon the features of these remarkable times, the condition of the people, the state of public feeling, and upon the manners and modes of life prevalent among the classes whom it is the fashion with the historians of nations entirely to neglect. For this Mr. Roberts will receive the unanimous thanks of the reading world."—*CARRIC*.

ROBERTS.—AN ETYMOLOGICAL AND EXPLANATORY
DICTIONARY of the Terms and Language of GEOLOGY; designed for the early Student, and those who have not made great progress in the Science. By G. ROBERTS. Fcp. 6s. cloth.

ROBINSON.—GREEK AND ENGLISH LEXICON TO THE
NEW TESTAMENT. By E. ROBINSON, D.D. Author of "Biblical Researches." Edited, with careful revision, corrections, &c. by the Rev. Dr. BLOOMFIELD. 8vo. 18s. cloth.

ROGERS.—THE VEGETABLE CULTIVATOR;

Containing a plain and accurate Description of all the different Species of Culinary Vegetables, with the most approved Method of Cultivating them by Natural and Artificial Means, and the best Modes of Cooking them; alphabetically arranged. Together with a Description of the Physical Herbs in General Use. Also, some Recollections of the Life of PHILIP MILLER, F.A.S., Gardener to the Worshipful Company of Apothecaries at Chelsea. By JOHN ROGERS, Author of "The Fruit Cultivator." 2d Edition, fcp. 8vo. 7s. cloth.

"Rogers's 'Vegetable Cultivator' is an useful book."—Prof. Lindley, in *THE GARDENERS' CHRONICLE*.

ROME;—THE HISTORY OF ROME.

2 vols. fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Titles, 12s. cloth.

RONALDS.—THE FLY-FISHER'S ENTOMOLOGY,

Illustrated by Coloured Representations of the Natural and Artificial Insect; and accompanied by a few Observations and Instructions relative to Trout and Grayling Fishing. By ALFRED RONALDS. 2d Edition, 8vo. with 20 coloured Plates, 14s. cloth.

ROSCOE.—LIVES OF EMINENT BRITISH LAWYERS.

By HENRY ROSCOE, Esq. Fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Title, 6s. cloth.

SANDBY (REV. G.)—MESMERISM AND ITS OPPONENTS:

With a Narrative of Cases. By the Rev GEORGE SANDBY, Jun. Vicar of Flinton, and Rector of All Saints with St. Nicholas, South Elmham, Suffolk; Domestic Chaplain to the Right Hon. the Earl of Abergavenny. Fcp. 8vo. 6s. cloth.

SANDFORD (REV. JOHN).—PAROCHIALIA,

Or, Church, School, and Parish. By JOHN SANDFORD, M.A. Vicar of Dunchurch, Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Worcester, Hon. Canon of Worcester, and Rural Dean. 8vo. with numerous Woodcuts, 16s. cloth.

SANDFORD.—WOMAN IN HER SOCIAL AND DOMESTIC
CHARACTER. By Mrs. JOHN SANDFORD. 6th Edition. Fcp. 8vo. 6s. cloth.

Causes of Female Influence; Value of Letters to Woman; Importance of Religion to Woman; Christianity the Source of Female Excellence; Scripture illustrative of Female Character; Female Influence on Religion; Female Defects; Female Romance; Female Education; Female Duties.

SANDFORD.—FEMALE IMPROVEMENT.

By Mrs. JOHN SANDFORD. 2d Edition. Fcp. 8vo. 7s. 6d. cloth.

The Formation of Female Character; Religion a paramount Object; the Importance of Religious Knowledge; Christianity, Doctrinal and Practical; the Employment of Time; Study, its Mode and its Recommendation; Accomplishment; Temper; Taste; Benevolence; Marriage; the Young Wife; the Young Mother.

SANDHURST COLLEGE MATHEMATICAL COURSE.

PRACTICAL ASTRONOMY and GEODESY, including the Projections of the Sphere, and Spherical Trigonometry. For the use of the Royal Military College, Sandhurst. By JOHN NARRIEN, F.R.S and R.A.S. Professor of Mathematics in the Institution. Being the 5th Volume of the Sandhurst Mathematical Course. 8vo. 14s. bound.

"We have, on former occasions, felt called upon to notice with praise the 'Arithmetic and Algebra,' and the 'Geometry,' of the Author of this text-book; and the present appears fully equal in merit to either of its predecessors. All the elementary problems of practical astronomy and geodesy; with which even an advanced pupil requires to be familiar, are given. The style of the author is nervous and perspicuous, his illustrations felicitous, and his algebraical and geometrical demonstrations elegant. The work will form the taste of the scholar by example, as well as store his mind with knowledge. In the preface, Mr Narrien points out the importance of the branch of study to which the volume is devoted, to all, but especially, in the present circumstances of the British empire, to the young soldier. The tone of the preface conveys a pleasing impression of the spirit which animates the institution for which the work is compiled. It would lead one, apart altogether from the merits of the book, to congratulate the country on the possession of a military seminary where the young soldier's mind was so emphatically directed to objects of truly honourable ambition."—SPECTATOR.

ELEMENTS of ARITHMETIC and ALGEBRA. For the use of the Royal Military College, Sandhurst. By W. SCOTT, Esq. A.M. and F.R.A.S. Second Mathematical Professor in the Institution. Being the Second Volume of the Sandhurst Course of Mathematics. 8vo. 16s. bound.

ELEMENTS of GEOMETRY; consisting of the first Four and Sixth Books of Euclid, chiefly from the Text of Dr. Robert Simson: with the principal Theorems in Proportion, and a Course of Practical Geometry on the Ground; also, Four Tracts relating to Circles, Planes, and Solids, with one on Spherical Geometry. For the use of the Royal Military College, Sandhurst. By JOHN NARRIEN, Professor of Mathematics in the Institution. Being the First Volume of the Sandhurst Course of Mathematics. 8vo. with many diagrams, 10s. 6d. bound.

SCORESBY.—MAGNETICAL INVESTIGATIONS.

By the Rev. WILLIAM SCORESBY, D.D. F.R.S.L. and E. &c. &c. Comprising Investigations concerning the Laws or Principles affecting the Power of Magnetic Steel Plates or Bars, in combination as well as singly, under various conditions as to Mass, Hardness, Quality, Form, &c. as also concerning the comparative Powers of Cast Iron. Part 1, 8vo. with Plates, 5s. cloth; Part 2, 10s. 6d.

SCOTT.—THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

By Sir WALTER SCOTT, Bart. New edition. 2 vols. fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Titles, 12s. cloth.

SEAWARD.—SIR EDWARD SEAWARD'S NARRATIVE OF

HIS SHIPWRECK, and consequent Discovery of certain Islands in the Caribbean Sea: with a detail of many extraordinary and highly interesting Events in his Life, from 1733 to 1749, as written in his own Diary. Edited by Miss JANE PORTER. 3d Edition, with a New Nautical and Geographical Introduction, containing Extracts from a Paper by Mr. C. F. Collett, of the Royal Navy, identifying the islands described by Sir E. Seaward. 2 vols. post 8vo. 21s. cloth.

SELECT WORKS OF THE BRITISH POETS,

From Chaucer to Withers. With Biographical Sketches, by R. SOUTHEY, LL.D. 1 large vol. 8vo. 30s. cloth; with gilt edges, 31s. 6d.

SELECT WORKS OF THE BRITISH POETS,

From Ben Jonson to Beattie. With Biographical and Critical Prefaces, by DR. AIKIN. A New Edition, with Supplement, by LUCY AIKIN; consisting of additional Selections from the Works of Crabbe, Scott, Coleridge, Pringle, Charlotte Smith, and Mrs. Barbauld. 8vo.

Now ready.
. The peculiar feature of these two works is, that the Poems are printed entire, without mutilation or abridgment; care being taken that such poems only are included as are fit for the perusal of youth, or for reading aloud.

SERMON ON THE MOUNT (THE).

[St. Matthew v. vi. vii.] Intended for a Birth-day Present, or Gift Book for all Seasons. Printed in Gold and Colours, in the Missal style, with Ornamental Borders by OWEN JONES, Architect, and a Design from a Drawing by W. BOXALL, Esq. Small 8vo. 21s. bound in an appropriate manner, in morocco, by Hayday; or 14s. boards.

"This book is a gem, issued in a shape so complete that it might adorn the choicest shelves in the collection of a Roxburgher or a Grenville; or, which is still better, be carried next the heart by the most earnest and devout."—TIMES.

SHAKSPEARE, BY BOWDLER.

THE FAMILY SHAKSPEARE; in which nothing is added to the Original Text; but those words and expressions are omitted which cannot with propriety be read aloud. By T. BOWDLER, Esq. F.R.S. Seventh Edition, 1 large vol. 8vo. with 36 Illustrations after Smirke, &c. 30s. cloth; or 31s. 6d. gilt edges.

. A LIBRARY EDITION, without Illustrations, 8 vols. 8vo. £4. 14s. 6d. boards.

SHELLEY, &c. — LIVES OF THE MOST EMINENT LITERARY

MEN OF ITALY, SPAIN, and PORTUGAL. By MRS. SHELLEY, Sir D. BREWSTER, J. MONTGOMERY, &c. 3 vols. fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Titles, 18s. cloth.

SHELLEY.—LIVES OF MOST EMINENT FRENCH WRITERS.

By Mrs. SHELLEY, and others. 2 vols. fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Titles, 12s. cloth.

SHORT WHIST :

Its Rise, Progress, and Laws; with Observations to make any one a Whist Player; containing also the Laws of Piquet, Cassino, Ecarté, Cribbage, Backgammon. By Major A *****. 8th Edition. To which are added, Precepts for Tyros. By Mrs. B *****. Fcp. 8vo. 3s. cloth, gilt edges.

SISMONDI.—HISTORY OF THE ITALIAN REPUBLICS;

Or, of the Origin, Progress, and Fall of Freedom in Italy, from A. D. 476 to 1805. By J. C. L. DE SISMONDI. 2 vols. fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Titles, 12s. cloth.

SISMONDI.—THE HISTORY OF THE FALL OF THE ROMAN

EMPIRE. Comprising a View of the Invasion and Settlement of the Barbarians. By J. C. L. DE SISMONDI. 2 vols. fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Titles, 12s. cloth.

SMITH.—THE ENGLISH FLORA.

By Sir JAMES EDWARD SMITH, M.D. F.R.S., late President of the Linnæan Society, &c. 6 vols. 8vo. £3. 12s. boards.

Contents :—Vols. I. to IV. The FLOWERING PLANTS and the FERNS, £2. 8s.

Vol. V. Part 1, 12s.—CRYPTOGAMIA; comprising the Mosses, Hepaticæ, Lichens, Characæ, and Algæ. By Sir W. J. HOOKER.

Vol. V. Part 2, 12s.—The FUNGI—completing the work, by Sir J. W. HOOKER, and the Rev. M. J. BERKELEY, F.L.S. &c.

SMITH.—COMPENDIUM OF THE ENGLISH FLORA.

By Sir J. E. SMITH. 2d Edition, with Additions and Corrections. By Sir W. J. HOOKER. 12mo. 7s. 6d. cloth.

THE SAME IN LATIN. 5th Edition, 12mo. 7s. 6d.

SMITH.—AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF BOTANY.

By Sir J. E. SMITH, late President of the Linnean Society. 7th Edition, corrected; in which the object of Smith's "Grammar of Botany" is combined with that of the "Introduction." By Sir WILLIAM JACKSON HOOKER, K.H., LL.D., &c. 8vo. with 36 Steel Plates, 16s. cloth; with the Plates coloured, £2. 12s. 6d. cloth.

SMITH.—THE WORKS OF THE REV. SYDNEY SMITH.

2d Edition, 3 vols. 8vo. with Portrait, 36s. cloth.

This collection consists of the author's contributions to the Edinburgh Review, Peter Plymley's Letters on the Catholics, and other miscellaneous works.

By the same Author, 2d Edition,

LETTERS on AMERICAN DEBTS. First printed in "The Morning Chronicle." 8vo. 6d.

SOUTHEY'S (ROBERT) COMPLETE POETICAL WORKS;

Containing all the Author's last Introductions and Notes. Complete in one volume, medium 8vo. with Portrait and Vignette, uniform with Byron's Poems and Thomas Moore's Poetical Works, 21s.; or 42s. bound in morocco, in the best manner, by Hayday.

Also, an Edition in 10 vols. fcp. 8vo. with Portrait and 19 Plates, £2. 10s.; morocco, £4. 10s.

The following Works, separately :—

JOAN of ARC..... Fcp. 8vo. 5s. cloth.	THALABA..... Fcp. 8vo. 5s. cloth.
MADOC..... Fcp. 8vo. 5s. cloth.	BALLADS, &c. 2 vols. Fcp. 8vo. 10s. cloth.
CURSE of KEHAMA.... Fcp. 8vo. 5s. cloth.	RODERICK..... Fcp. 8vo. 5s. cloth.

SOUTHEY, &c.—LIVES OF THE BRITISH ADMIRALS;

With an Introductory View of the Naval History of England. By R. SOUTHEY, Esq. and R. BELL, Esq. 5 vols. fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Titles, £1. 10s. cloth.

SPALDING.—THE PHILOSOPHY OF CHRISTIAN MORALS.

By SAMUEL SPALDING, M.A. of the London University. 8vo. 10s. 6d. cloth.

"The author of this work was a young man of great promise, who graduated at the London University in 1840, and died early in the present year, at the Cape of Good Hope, to which place he had repaired to recruit his strength, shattered by intense application to study. The work which he has left behind bears traces of a thinking mind, which might have done much in the field of science. Mr. Spalding's treatise is modelled to a great extent on the writings of that great ethical writer, Bishop Butler; and the whole work is throughout thoughtfully and eloquently written."

SPIRIT OF THE WOODS.

By the Author of "The Moral of Flowers." 2d Edition. Royal 8vo. with 23 beautifully-coloured Engravings of the Forest Trees of Great Britain, £1. 11s. 6d. cloth.

SPOONER.—A TREATISE ON THE STRUCTURE, FUNCTIONS, and DISEASES of the FOOT and LEG of the HORSE; comprehending the Comparative Anatomy of these parts in other Animals, embracing the subject of Shoeing and the proper Treatment of the Foot; with the Rationale and Effects of various important Operations, and the best methods of performing them. By W. C. SPOONER, M.R.V.C. 12mo. 7s. 6d. cloth.

STEBBING.—THE HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH, from its Foundation to A.D. 1492. By the Rev. H. STEBBING, M.A. &c. 2 vols. fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Titles, 12s. cloth.

STEBBING.—THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

By the Rev. H. STEBBING. 2 vols. fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Titles, 12s. cloth.

STEAM ENGINE, BY THE ARTIZAN CLUB.

A Treatise on the Steam Engine. By the ARTIZAN CLUB. Nos. 1 to 8, 4to. 1s. each, sewed. To be completed in 24 Monthly Parts, each illustrated by a Steel Plate and several Woodcuts.

This work will give a complete account of the Steam Engine as applied to Mines, Mills, Railways, and Steam Navigation; will contain Practical Rules and Examples of the best Machinery; and will be representative of the present state of Steam Science in England.

"The treatise is marked by the same cleverness and vivacity which belongs to 'the Club.' It is well illustrated with woodcuts, and seems likely, as far as we can judge, to answer the important purpose of diffusing sound information among the artisans of this country, in an agreeable and interesting manner."—RAILWAY CHRONICLE.

STEEL'S SHIPMASTER'S ASSISTANT,

And OWNER'S MANUAL; containing Information necessary for persons connected with Mercantile Affairs; consisting of the Regulation Acts of the Customs for the United Kingdom, and British Possessions abroad; Navigation Laws; Registry Acts; Duties of Customs of the United Kingdom, the British Plantations in America, Canada, and Isle of Man, in the East Indies, Cape of Good Hope, New South Wales, and Van Diemen's Land; Smuggling Acts; Pilotage throughout England and Scotland; Insurances; Commercial Treaties; Dock Charges on Shipping, &c. New Edition, corrected by J. STRICKMAN, Secretary to the East India and China Association. With Tables of Monies, Weights, Measures, and Exchanges. By Dr. KELLY. With a Supplement. 1 large vol. 8vo. £1. 1s. cloth.

STEPHENS.—A MANUAL OF BRITISH COLEOPTERA;

or, BEETLES: containing a Description of all the Species of Beetles hitherto ascertained to inhabit Great Britain and Ireland, &c. With a Complete Index of the Genera. By J. F. STEPHENS, F.L.S. Author of "Illustrations of Entomology." Post 8vo. 14s. cloth.

STRONG.—GREECE AS A KINGDOM:

A Statistical Description of that Country: its Laws, Commerce, Resources, Public Institutions, Army, Navy, &c.—from the arrival of King Otho, in 1833, down to the present time. From Official Documents and Authentic Sources. By FREDERICK STRONG, Esq. Consul at Athens for the Kingdoms of Bavaria and Hanover. 8vo 15s. cloth.

SUMMERLY (MRS. FELIX).—THE MOTHER'S PRIMER:

a Little Child's First Steps in many ways. By Mrs. FELIX SUMMERLY. Fcp. 8vo. printed in colours, with a Frontispiece drawn on zinc by William Mulready, R.A. 1s. sewed.

"It were a happy thought of Mrs. Felix Summerly to interest the child taught by her charming 'Mother's Primer,' which we warmly recommend as the most attractive and best adapted to suit every parent who wishes to lessen the trouble and pain which the innocent prattlers are often unnecessarily condemned to undergo in mastering the mysteries of reading, after the first excitement of great A and little a has subsided."—CARTIC.

SUNDAY LIBRARY:

Containing nearly One Hundred Sermons by the following eminent Divines. With Notes, &c. by the Rev. T. F. DIBBIN, D.D. 6 vols. fcp. 8vo. with Six Portraits, 30s. cloth.

Archbp. Lawrence	Bp. Huntingford	Archdeacon Nares	Professor White	Rev. W. Jones (of Nayland)
Secker	Matby	Pott	Rev. Arch. Allison	C. W. Le Bas
Bp. Bloomfield	Nant	Dr. Blair	C. Benson	H. H. Milman
Gray	Newton	Chalmers	Joshua C. Lpin	R. Morehead
Heber	Porteus	Dooly	G. Haggitt	Thomas Rennell
Hobart	J. B. Sumner	Daley	Robert Hall	J. H. Spry
Horne	Van Mildert	Farr	J. Hewlett	Sidney Smith
Horsley	Dean Chandler	Shuttleworth	A. Irvine	Thomas Townson.

SWAINSON.—A PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE ON THE STUDY OF NATURAL HISTORY. By W. SWAINSON, Esq. Fcp. 8vo. 6s. cloth.

A TREATISE ON THE NATURAL HISTORY AND CLASSIFICATION OF ANIMALS. By W. Swainson, Esq. Fcp. 8vo. 6s.

NATURAL HISTORY AND CLASSIFICATION OF QUADRUPEDS. By W. Swainson, Esq. Fcp. 8vo. with vignette title and 176 Woodcuts, 6s. cloth.

NATURAL HISTORY AND CLASSIFICATION OF BRDS. By W. Swainson, Esq. 2 vols. fcp. 8vo. Vignette Titles and above 300 Woodcuts 12s. cloth.

HISTORY AND NATURAL ARRANGEMENT OF INSECTS. By W. Swainson, Esq., and W. E. Shuckard, Esq. Fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Title and Woodcuts, 6s. cloth.

ANIMALS IN MENAGERIES. By W. Swainson, Esq. Fcp. 8vo. Vignette Title and numerous Woodcuts, 6s. cloth.

NATURAL HISTORY AND CLASSIFICATION OF FISH, AMPHIBIANS, AND REPTILES. By W. Swainson, Esq. 2 vols. fcp. 8vo. with numerous Woodcuts and Vignette Titles, 12s. cloth.

HABITS AND INSTINCTS OF ANIMALS. By W. Swainson, Esq. Fcp. 8vo. with Vignette and numerous Woodcuts, 6s. cloth.

A TREATISE ON MALACOLOGY; or, the Natural Classification of Shells and Shell-fish. By W. Swainson, Esq. Fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Title and very numerous Illustrations on Wood, 6s. cloth.

A TREATISE ON TAXIDERMY; with the Biography of Zoologists, and Notices of their Works. Fcp. 8vo. with Portrait of the Author, 6s. cloth.

SWITZERLAND.—THE HISTORY OF SWITZERLAND.

Fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Title, 6s. cloth.

TATE.—HORATIUS RESTITUTUS;

Or, the Books of Horace arranged in Chronological Order, according to the Scheme of Dr. Bentley, from the Text of Gesner, corrected and improved. With a Preliminary Dissertation, very much enlarged, on the Chronology of the Works, on the Localities, and on the Life and Character of that Poet. By JAMES TATE, M.A. Second Edition. To which is now added, an original Treatise on the Metres of Horace. 8vo. 12s. cloth.

"Mr. Tate's Horatius Restitutus should find a place in the library of the mature scholar, of the youthful student, and of the accomplished man of the world."—*QUARTERLY REVIEW*.

TATE.—THE CONTINUOUS HISTORY OF THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF ST. PAUL, on the basis of the Acts; with Intercalary Matter of Sacred Narrative, supplied from the Epistles, and elucidated in occasional Dissertations: with the Hora Paulina of Dr. Paley, in a more correct edition, subjoined. By JAMES TATE, M.A.

Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's. 8vo. with Map, 13s. cloth.

TAYLER (REV. CHARLES B.)—MARGARET;

Or, the Pearl. By the Rev. CHARLES B. TAYLER, M.A. Rector of St. Peter's, Chester, Author of "May You Like It," "Records of a Good Man's Life," &c. Fcp. 8vo. 6s. cloth.

"The design of this very pleasing and attractive story is to shew the errors of Tractarianism, and the happy effects that flow from a strict discharge of our duties, religious and moral. The book is written in a style extremely graceful, and is altogether free from that narrow-minded spirit which has but too frequently appeared of late in works of the same description."—*ATLAS*.

TAYLER (REV. CHARLES B.)—LADY MARY;

Or, Not of the World. By the Rev. CHARLES B. TAYLER, Rector of St. Peter's, Chester; Author of "Margaret, or the Pearl," &c. Fcp. 8vo. [In the press.]

TAYLER (REV. C. B.)—TRACTARIANISM NOT OF GOD:

Sermons. By the Rev. C. B. TAYLER, M.A. Rector of St. Peter's, and Evening Lecturer of St. Mary's, Chester; Author of "Records of a Good Man's Life," &c. Fcp. 8vo. 6s. cloth.

"A volume of sermons valuable for the sound scriptural doctrine propounded in them, apart from controversy; and doubly valuable as bearing strongly on the controverted truths that Tractarianism seeks to undermine or to batter down. The sermons referring to baptism are especially valuable."—*CHRISTIAN LADY'S MAGAZINE*.

TAYLER (REV. C. B.)—DORA MELDER;

A Story of Alsace. By META SANDER. A Translation. Edited by the Rev. C. B. Tayler, Author of "Records of a Good Man's Life," &c. Fcp. 8vo. with two Illustrations, 7s. cloth.

"In a literary point of view, this tale is admirably told; whilst its air of reality gives it a true charm." BRITISH MAGAZINE.

TAYLOR.—THE STATESMAN.

By HENRY TAYLOR, Esq., Author of "Philip Van Artevelde." 12mo. 6s. 6d. boards.

THACKER.—THE COURSER'S ANNUAL REMEMBRANCER,

and STUD-BOOK; being an Alphabetical Return of the Running at all the Public Coursing Clubs in England, Ireland, and Scotland, for the Season 1841-42; with the Pedigrees (as far as received) of the Dogs that won, and the Dogs that ran up second for each Prize; also, a Return of all single Matches run at those Meetings; with a Preliminary Essay on the Decision of Short Courses. By T. THACKER. 8vo. 10s. cloth.

THACKER.—A POCKET COMPENDIUM OF COURSING

RULES and BYE-LAWS, for Use in the Field. By THOMAS THACKER. 12mo. 1s. 6d. sewed.

THIRLWALL.—THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

By the Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP of ST. DAVID'S. 8 vols. fcp. 8vo. with Vignette Titles, £2. 8s. cloth.

In the press,

A Library Edition of BISHOP THIRLWALL'S HISTORY OF GREECE, handsomely printed in demy 8vo. To be published in monthly volumes.

THOMSON (JOHN).—TABLES OF INTEREST,

At Three, Four, Four-and-a-Half, and Five per Cent., from One Pound to Ten Thousand, and from One to Three Hundred and Sixty-five Days, in a regular progression of single Days; with Interest at all the above Rates, from One to Twelve Months, and from One to Ten Years. Also, Tables showing the Exchange on Bills, or Commission on Goods, &c. from One-eighth to Five per Cent.; and Tables shewing the Amount of any Salary, Income, Expense, &c. by the Day, Month, or Year. To which are prefixed, a Table of Discount on Bills at a certain number of Days or Months; and a Table shewing the exact Number of Days, from any Day throughout the Year, to the 31st of December, the usual period to which Interest is calculated. By JOHN THOMSON, Accountant in Edinburgh. 12mo. 8s. bound.

THOMSON'S SEASONS.

Edited by BOLTON CORNEY, Esq. Illustrated with Seventy-seven Designs drawn on Wood, by the following Members of the Etching Club:—

J. Bell, Sculptor,	J. C. Horsley,	Frank Stone,	H. J. Townsend,
C. W. Cope,	J. P. Knight,	C. Stonhouse,	T. Webster, A.R.A.
Thomas Creswick,	R. Redgrave, A.R.A.	F. Taylor,	

Engraved by Thompson and other eminent Engravers.

Square crown 8vo. One Guinea; bound in morocco, in the best manner, by Hayday, 36s.

THOMSON.—THE DOMESTIC MANAGEMENT OF THE SICK

ROOM, necessary, in Aid of Medical Treatment, for the Cure of Diseases. By ANTHONY TODD THOMSON, M.D. F.L.S. &c. Post 8vo. 10s. 6d. cloth.

THOMSON.—AN ELEMENTARY TREATISE ON ALGEBRA,

Theoretical and Practical. By JAMES THOMSON, LL.D. Professor of Mathematics in the University of Glasgow. 12mo. 5s. cloth.

"For clearness, simplicity, and completeness, it would be difficult to imagine a superior performance to Dr. Thomson's. Any intelligent individual might teach himself from it, and in the hands of an able master it must prove invaluable. We recommend it to mathematical readers, teachers, and students, as incomparably the best elementary treatise and the most comprehensive text-book of the science."—ATLAS.

TOMLINS.—A POPULAR LAW DICTIONARY;

Familiarly explaining the Terms and Nature of English Law; adapted to the comprehension of persons not educated for the legal profession, and affording information peculiarly useful to Magistrates, Merchants, Parochial Officers, and others. By THOMAS EDLYNE TOMLINS, Attorney and Solicitor. 1 thick vol. post 8vo. 18s. cloth.

*. The whole work has been revised by a Barrister.

TOOKE.—A HISTORY OF PRICES;

With reference to the Causes of their principal Variations, from 1792 to the Present Time. Preceded by a Sketch of the History of the Corn Trade in the last Two Centuries. By THOMAS TOOKE, Esq. F.R.S. 2 vols. 8vo. £1. 16s. cloth.

(A Continuation of the Above.)

AN ACCOUNT OF PRICES and of the State of the CIRCULATION in 1838 and 1839; with Remarks on the Corn Laws, and on proposed Alterations in our Banking System. 8vo. 12s. cloth.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE ENTOMOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

8vo. The last part published is Part 4 of Vol. 3, 8vo. with Plates, 6s. 6d.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE ZOOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF

LONDON. 4to. The last part published is Part 3, Vol. 3, with Plates, 19s. 6d. coloured, and 12s. plain.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE INSTITUTION OF CIVIL

Engineers, 4to. Vol. II. with Twenty-three finely engraved Plates, 28s. cloth.

Vol. III. with Nineteen finely engraved Plates, £2. 12s. 6d. cloth.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF BRITISH

ARCHITECTS OF LONDON: consisting of a series of Papers on "Antiquities," and "Construction." By R. Willis, M.A. F.R.S. &c.; Ambrose Poynter; Herr Hailmann, of Hanover; Dr. Faraday; Mr. Bracebridge; Herr Beuth, of Berlin; Joseph Gwilt, F.S.A. F.A.S.; Mr. C. H. Smith; Mr. C. Fowler, Hon. Sec.; Mr. W. A. Nicholson, of Lincoln; and Mr. J. P. Papworth. Vol. I. Part 2, 4to. with numerous lithographic and woodcut illustrations, 24s. cloth.

. Part 1, Vol. I. uniform with the above, 16s. cloth.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE LINNEAN SOCIETY OF LONDON.

The last part published is Part 3, Vol. XIX. 4to. with Plates, 40s.

TURNER.—THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

From the Earliest Period to the Death of Elizabeth. By SHARON TURNER, Esq. F.A.S. R.A.S.L. 12 vols. 8vo. £8. 3s. cloth.

Or four separate portions, as follow:—

THE HISTORY of the ANGL0-SAXONS; comprising the History of England from the Earliest Period to the Norman Conquest. 6th Edition. 3 vols. 8vo. £2. 5s. boards.

THE HISTORY of ENGLAND during the MIDDLE AGES; comprising the Reigns from William the Conqueror to the Accession of Henry VIII., and also the History of the Literature, Religion, Poetry, and Progress of the Reformation and of the Language during that period. 3d Edition. 5 vols. 8vo. £3, boards.

THE HISTORY of the REIGN of HENRY VIII.; comprising the Political History of the commencement of the English Reformation: being the First Part of the Modern History of England. 3d Edition. 2 vols. 8vo. 26s. boards.

THE HISTORY of the REIGNS of EDWARD VI., MARY, and ELIZABETH; being the Second Part of the Modern History of England. 3d Edition. 2 vols. 8vo. 32s. boards.

TURNER.—THE SACRED HISTORY OF THE WORLD,

Philosophically considered. By SHARON TURNER, F.S.A. R.A.S.L. New Edition. 3 vols. 8vo. 42s. cloth.

Vol. 1 considers the Creation and System of the Earth, and of its Vegetable and Animal Races and Material Laws, and Formation of Mankind.

Vol. 2, the Divine Economy in its special Relation to Mankind, and in the Deluge, and the History of Human Affairs;

Vol. 3, the Provisions for the Perpetuation and Support of the Human Race, the Divine System of our Social Combinations, and the Supernatural History of the World.

TURNER.—A TREATISE ON THE FOOT OF THE HORSE,

And a New System of Shoeing, by one-sided nailing; and on the Nature, Origin, and Symptoms of the Navicular Joint Lameness, with Preventive and Curative Treatment. By JAMES TURNER, M.R.V.C. Royal 8vo. 7s. 6d. boards.

TURTON'S (DR.) MANUAL OF THE LAND AND FRESH-

WATER SHELLS of the BRITISH ISLANDS. A New Edition, thoroughly revised and with considerable Additions. By JOHN EDWARD GRAY, Keeper of the Zoological Collection in the British Museum. Post 8vo. with Woodcuts, and 12 Coloured Plates 15s. cloth.

UNCLE PETER.—UNCLE PETER'S FAIRY TALES.

The First Story, containing the History and Adventures of Little Mary, Queen of the great Island of Brakarakakaka. By UNCLE PETER, F.R.L. M.M. T.T. F.A.S. Q.Q. X.Y.Z. &c. &c. Fcp. 8vo. 5s. 6d. cloth.

"Uncle Peter is a fellow of infinite humour. There is a concealed vein of sharp satire running through the substratum of his tales, which it requires something more than a superficial glance to enable a reader to detect. We shall anxiously look for his reappearance in another story shortly. He is a most amusing writer, and though his tales are professedly written for children, there is in them much from which even old heads might derive advantage and instruction."—SUNDAY TIMES.

URE.—DICTIONARY OF ARTS, MANUFACTURES, & MINES;

Containing a clear Exposition of their Principles and Practice. By ANDREW URE, M.D. F.R.S. M.G.S. M.A.S. Lond.; M. Acad. N.L. Philad.; S. Ph. Soc. N. Germ. Hanov.; Mulli. &c. &c. 3d Edition, corrected. 8vo. illustrated with 1240 Engravings on Wood, 50s. cloth.

URE.—RECENT IMPROVEMENTS IN ARTS, MANUFACTURES, and MINES;

being a Supplement to his Dictionary. By ANDREW URE, M.D. F.R.S. &c. 8vo. with numerous wood Engravings, 14s. cloth.

"The great progress which our arts and manufactures have made within the few years since the publication of Dr. Ure's celebrated Dictionary—at once the ablest and most popular work of the kind which ever was written—has furnished ample materials for the present most acceptable addition to it; and we are happy to say that the author has made the best possible use of them. The practice of every branch of industry treated of is brought down to its latest existing state; the improvements introduced are clearly stated, and the value of them estimated with discrimination and sagacity. Much of the information is entirely new—to scientific literature at least, being either the result of investigations in which Dr. Ure has himself been professionally engaged (as an analytical chemist), or derived from private sources, to which he has had exclusive access."—MECHANICS' MAGAZINE.

VON ORLICH (CAPT.)—TRAVELS IN INDIA;

Including Scinde and the Punjab in 1842 and 1843. By Capt. LEOPOLD VON ORLICH. Translated from the German, by H. EVANS LOYD, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. with two coloured lithographic Frontispieces of one of the Gates of Somnauth, and the Cutlee Minar, or Column erected near Delhi by the Emperor Cutlee ab Deen, to commemorate the overthrow of the Hindoo Power by him in 1193; and numerous Illustrations on Wood. [Just ready.]

WALKER (GEO.)—CHESS STUDIES;

Comprising One Thousand Games of Chess, as really played by the first Chess Players; forming a complete Encyclopædia of Reference, and presenting the greatest Collection extant of fine specimens of strategy in every stage of the Game. Selected and arranged by GEORGE WALKER, Author of "Chess made Easy," "A New Treatise on Chess," &c. 8vo. 10s. 6d. sewed.

"A very complete account of the game in modern times, which, as it has become more a rage than ever, and nations look on its contests with almost national passions, every chess-player will find deserving of his best attention. No trial of skill, certainly, excites so earnest desire to conquer; and those who are ambitious of victory must study Walker."—LITERARY GAZETTE.

WARDLAW.—DISCOURSES ON THE PRINCIPAL POINTS OF THE SOCINIAN CONTROVERSY—the Unity of God, and the Trinity of Persons in the Godhead; the Supreme Divinity of Jesus Christ; the Doctrine of the Atonement; the Christian Character, &c. By RALPH WARDLAW, D.D. 5th Edition, 8vo. 15s. cloth.

WATERTON.—ESSAYS ON NATURAL HISTORY, Chiefly Ornithology. By CHARLES WATERTON, Esq., Author of "Wanderings in South America." With an Autobiography of the Author, and a View of Walton Hall. Fifth Edition, fcp. 8vo. 8s. cloth.

SECOND SERIES. With Continuation of Mr. WATERTON'S Autobiography. 2d Edition, fcp. 8vo. with a new Vignette by T. Creswick, A.R.A. 6s. 6d. cloth.

"It gives us hearty pleasure to meet with Mr. Waterton again. He is a charming writer. Candid, cordial, good-hearted, and full of the most masculine sympathies. His AUTOBIOGRAPHY will rank with the most piquant and comprehensive pieces of that kind of writing in the language. His ESSAYS, with little of the learned pretences, have a store of cheerful wisdom in them which yields unfailling instructiveness and pleasure."—EXAMINER.

WEBSTER.—AN ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF DOMESTIC ECONOMY;

Comprising such subjects as are most immediately connected with Housekeeping: as, The Construction of Domestic Edifices, with the modes of Warming, Ventilating, and Lighting them—A description of the various articles of Furniture, with the nature of their Materials—Duties of Servants—A general account of the Animal and Vegetable Substances used as Food, and the methods of preserving and preparing them by Cooking—Making Bread—The Chemical Nature and the Preparation of all kinds of Fermented Liquors used as Beverage—Materials employed in Dress and the Toilette—Business of the Laundry Description of the various Wheel Carriages—Preservation of Health—Domestic Medicine, &c. &c. &c. By THOMAS WEBSTER, F.G.S. &c.; assisted by the late Mrs. Parkes, Author of "Domestic Duties."

1 large vol. 8vo. illustrated with nearly 1000 Woodcuts, 50s. cloth.
"The title-page sufficiently indicates the wide range of topics included in this most useful encyclopedia, and all are treated with a fulness which leaves nothing to be desired. It has been the object of the editor to combine science with practice, a knowledge of principles with the ordinary details and daily recurring duties of domestic life. In some departments of the work, Mr. Webster has been assisted by a lady whose qualifications are beyond dispute, and the result of their united labours is the production of a volume which exhausts the subject, and defies all competition. The work is richly illustrated with woodcuts, adding greatly to its value. We strongly recommend every lady, and all others who are concerned in the management of domestic affairs, to make themselves familiar with Mr. Webster's volume, which must speedily be regarded as an indispensable book of reference to every housekeeper."—ECL. REV.

WHITE'S COMPENDIUM OF THE VETERINARY ART;

Containing Plain and Concise Observations on the Construction and Management of the Stable, &c. 17th Edition, entirely reconstructed, with considerable Additions and Alterations, bringing the work up to the present state of Veterinary Science. By W. C. SPOONER, Veterinary Surgeon, &c. &c. 8vo. with coloured Plate, 16s. cloth.

WHITE'S COMPENDIUM OF CATTLE MEDICINE;

Or, Practical Observations on the Disorders of Cattle and other Domestic Animals, except the Horse. 6th Edition, re-arranged, with copious Additions and Notes, by W. C. SPOONER, Vet. Surgeon, Author of a "Treatise on the Influenza," &c. 8vo. 9s. cloth.

WIGAN (DR. A. L.)—THE DUALITY OF THE MIND,

Proved by the Structure, Functions, and Diseases of the Brain, and by the Phenomena of Mental Derangement; and shewn to be essential to Moral Responsibility. With an Appendix:—1. On the Influence of Religion on Insanity; 2. Conjectures on the Nature of the Mental Operations; 3. On the Management of Lunatic Asylums. By A. L. WIGAN, M.D. 8vo. 12s. cl.
"The volume is full of knowledge, and the author's remarks, even when he fails to convince, are strikingly acute and ingenious. We apprehend that none who take an interest in the physical structure of the brain, and its intellectual action, or even who have a desire to ameliorate the condition of the insane, will delay to consult a work which contains views singularly original and sagacious on all these subjects. Combining from the writings of the most distinguished men who have studied the anatomy, the mental action, and the derangement of the brain, all the light their studies have enabled them to collect, with that derived from extensive experience of his own, Dr. Wigan concentrates it into a focus, and pours it out upon his pages."—BRITANNIA.

WILKINSON.—THE ENGINES OF WAR, &c.

Being a History of Ancient and Modern Projectile Instruments and Engines of Warfare and Sporting; including the Manufacture of Fire-Arms, the History and Manufacture of Gunpowder, of swords, and of the cause of the Damascus Figure in Sword Blades, with some Observations of Bronze, &c. By H. WILKINSON, M.R.A.S. 8vo. 9s. cloth.

WILLOUGHBY (LADY).—A DIARY,

Purporting to be by the LADY WILLOUGHBY, of the Reign of Charles I.; embracing some Passages of her Domestic History from 1635 to 1648. A New Edition, in a smaller size.

To give additional interest to the work, it has been printed and bound in the style of the period to which it refers. Square fcp. 8vo. 8s. boards; or 13s. bound in morocco (*old style*).

"So rarely have we met in our literary walks with so sweet a character as the Lady Willoughby, that we know not whether the feeling of regret or pleasure has prevailed as we have closed the volume of her beautiful fragment. She looks out upon us from her opened casement with such freshness and beauty, that we are compelled to regard her with admiration and delight. There is no aim at effect in what she has written, no indication of a woman's vanity: her whole mien is that of subdued grace and feminine loveliness. That the exquisite passages purporting to be extracts from her diary have flowed from a woman's pen, alone we cannot for a moment doubt. A woman only could have so justly and tenderly portrayed the character of an affectionate daughter, a gentle and loving wife, and a faithful and devoted mother. All this her ladyship, whether a real or an imaginary personage, has done, with a gracefulness and truth worthy of female nature in its best and loftiest mood. If her work is indeed only an imitation of days gone by, then the genius of Chatterton is far surpassed by that of the successful author. In taking leave of her unique and interesting book, we express our cordial hope that it will find its way to the toilette of every titled and untitled lady in Great Britain."—EVANGELICAL MAGAZINE.

WRIGHT (THOMAS).—THE HISTORY OF SOCIETY IN ENGLAND during the MIDDLE AGES, By THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq. M.A. F.S.A. Corresponding Member of the Institute of France. 2 vols. 8vo. [In the press.]

89. 350. 354. 363. 402

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



1 1012 01034 0182

